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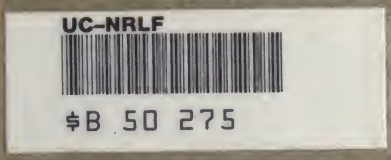

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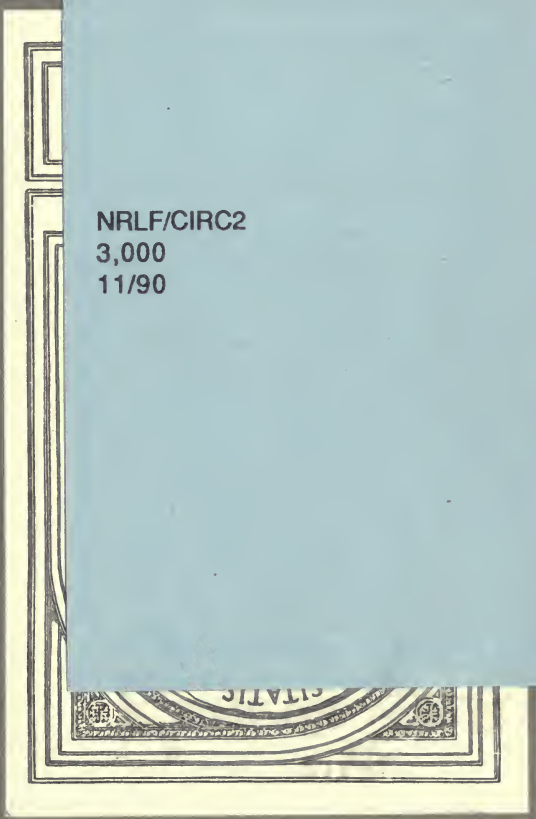

STUDIES IN SOCIAL WORK
CHILD WELFARE SERIES MONOGRAPH NO. 2

THE CHILD IN THE FOSTER HOME

PART I

THE PLACEMENT
AND SUPERVISION OF CHILDREN
IN FREE FOSTER HOMES

A STUDY BASED ON THE WORK OF
THE CHILD-PLACING AGENCY OF THE NEW
YORK STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION

By
SOPHIE VAN SENDEN THEIS
SUPERINTENDENT
AND
CONSTANCE GOODRICH
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

Price 75 cents

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PUBLISHERS' INTRODUCTION

This monograph is an attempt to give an honest account of the practical experiences of an actual agency in a limited area of the whole child welfare field.

It describes failures as well as successes.

It does not attempt to discuss general or ideal standards of child welfare. So far as standards are discussed at all the purpose is primarily to show those held by the State Charities Aid Association in the state of New York at the present time.

In the practical application of these standards a tendency to lower them is shown in particular instances due to a lack of public or private funds and agencies to provide boarding family care whenever this is best for the child.

The publishers believe that there has been a gain to the earnest student of the problems of free foster home care of children because the writers of this monograph have had an eye single to a literal account of and frank comment upon their own experiences under actual conditions in New York state.

However, these earnest students should recognize, as the writers and publishers of this monograph clearly do, that other records and discussions of experience are needed to give the present monograph true community perspective.

Especially is there further need of the true record of wider experiences for two purposes: first, to make clear the principles which should determine the relationship of both agency and free foster home to each other and to the child; second, to show how far three other forms of care, namely, adequate assistance to all mothers who could thus care for their own children, the boarding family home whenever best for the child, and the wise development of what the English call the "scattered home," can and should change the ratios of dependent children now cared for in institutions and in free family homes.

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PREFACE

The work of the Child Placing Agency of the New York State Charities Aid Association,[1] upon which this study is based, is the placement and supervision of children in free foster homes. This agency deals only with children who are permanently separated from their own families and who are suitable for foster home care. These children either have been public charges or would, if they were not placed in foster homes, become public charges. If a child has relatives who are able to provide for him, he is practically never accepted for placement. The children come from all parts of New York state. As the agency is non-sectarian, it cares for children of different religions, who are placed in homes of the same faith as that of their parents. Although most of the children are American, some of foreign parentage, such as Italian, Scandinavian, Irish, Polish, and so forth, are included.

Free foster home care is almost without exception the provision made for these children. They are placed in homes which have been investigated by visitors of the Agency, and are supervised until they are legally adopted or able to look after themselves.

In this study we have deliberately chosen for consideration some cases which present difficulties, for the obvious reason that it is chiefly by discussion of our difficulties and failures that we elucidate our problems and develop plans for dealing with them. A placement which proves a failure often teaches us how to make a success of the next placement. It is, however, too easy, when one is preoccupied with a difficult situation in case work, to forget the hundreds and hundreds of uneventful successful placements. After all, there is a solid majority of households in which the experiment of taking in a foster child has

[1] This Association is a private organization, supported by voluntary contributions.

proved a distinct success. It is a mistake to let one failure obscure a dozen successes. In any work dealing exclusively with people—the average man, woman, and child—there are bound to be inherent difficulties which no degree of expertness can altogether remove. Yet imperfect as the system still undeniably is, it nevertheless can show achievements that are far more significant and important than its failures.

After the dust of discussion has settled we should doubtless agree, most of us, that the foster home plan is, for a certain group of children, the best plan so far developed. It is closest in kind to the natural way of living for the child, and satisfies most fully his normal instincts. Its difficulties and its complexities differ less in kind than in acuteness from those of any family group. We have concentrated so much attention on the foster family group that we are perhaps suffering from a blind spot when the normal household is in question. Certain difficulties peculiar to the foster family group there undeniably are. In the main, however, its course is much the same as that of the average household.

We must, however, make limits for ourselves in discussing the free home method of child care. It is, after all, only one section of the immense field of work for children, and it is a mistake to let the focusing of our attention upon this spot blind us to the great area surrounding it. This sort of care is advisable for probably less than 10 per cent of the dependent children of New York state. The other 90 per cent must be provided for by other means: boarding homes, mothers' allowances, or institutions for temporary care or special training. It is clear that this plan cannot or should not be used for children who are only temporarily separated from their relatives, nor for children who might, by subsidies, be kept in their own homes, as is true of the great majority of the state's dependent children. It can never be a solution of the general problem of dependent children.

It might be added that this study is based on twenty-two years of experience in free home placing. As yet, we have not taken stock of our failures and successes by means of any complete survey, but there is in the records ample material on which to base conclusions. Over

and above that is the fund of experience which every agency stores up and which can never be encompassed within the written record.

Emphasis should be laid on the fact that this monograph does not attempt to set standards; it merely reports work as it was actually done. It is not a discussion of ideal foster home care, neither is it the report of an agency which has done an intensive piece of work under special conditions. The work of the Association has been with every type of child, and has been done under adverse as well as favorable circumstances, and in contact with many private organizations and public officials. We have not tried to define standards but to describe our own experience, setting down certain conclusions to which we have come as a result of practical case work. In consequence, records quoted and cases cited have been allowed to stand with whatever mistakes or omissions they showed, since they are literal reports of actual experience.

In this study it is proposed to discuss: first, what children should be placed in free foster homes and what we need to know about them; second, the selection of foster homes; third, the process by which the child and the home are brought together; fourth, supervision following the placement; and fifth, replacements.

Sophie van Senden Theis
Constance Goodrich

New York, N. Y.
October, 1921.

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CHAPTER I

SELECTION OF CHILDREN AND INVESTIGATION OF FAMILY HISTORY

What Children Are Eligible

The children accepted for placement in free foster homes may be classified in three groups: those whose parents have deliberately refused to provide for them—in other words, children who have been abandoned; those whose parents have been permanently deprived by court action of their custody; and children whose parents, for reasons other than poverty, are incapable of providing for them.

Abandonment.—In the group of abandoned children are the foundlings—children who have been deserted, and of whose parentage nothing can be known; and the deserted children, whose parents may be known but cannot be found and who have clearly intended a desertion.

It is practically impossible to invent a system by which abandonment is made impossible. The best that can be done is to perfect a method of investigation and supervision by means of which it is easy to keep track of the parents and possible to force them to provide something for the care of their children. By this means the number of deserted children can be reduced to a minimum. In New York state no such method has as yet been enforced, although the efforts made have succeeded in bringing down the number each year. Children are still placed by private arrangement in boarding homes by their parents and abandoned there, or committed to institutions by poor law officials and abandoned there by their parents.

Abandonment is difficult to define. It is not entirely a question of the length of time which elapsed since the last visit or the last payment. The apparent intention of the parent is extremely important. The attitude of the mother, her indifference to or her affection for her

child, and her ability to pay are all indicative of her probable intention in disappearing. For instance, an unmarried mother who has shown some affection for her baby, who has been working hard and is at odds with her family, is much more likely to reappear and claim her child than a woman who has visited her baby infrequently, bought him few clothes, and has not attempted to support herself regularly. Each case of abandonment must be decided on its own evidence, and it is essential to know your situation thoroughly by means of an exhaustive examination of all possible clues.

Every effort is made to help unmarried parents to provide for their children, and a special department is maintained by the Association for this purpose. An unmarried mother, if she has the character to do it, is given every chance to keep her baby with her; work is found for her, and medical and convalescent care are supplied. There are, of course, parents of such character that it is plain that the child will only suffer from remaining with them. There are always some mothers so determined to get rid of their children that they will resort to anything: advertisement, which almost always means a doubtful home for the child, leaving the child in a hallway, or even the sale of the child. In such cases the agency must choose between accepting the child or leaving the mother to dispose of him in her own way, since New York has no law compelling a woman to keep her child.

Children Removed by Court Action from Their Parents' Custody.— In dealing with this group, the agency will satisfy itself not only as to the legality of the court procedure, but as to the validity of the evidence upon which the procedure was based. It must assure itself by an exhaustive investigation of these points: Were constructive measures used to improve conditions in the home before removal of the children was decided upon? Is this removal necessary to safeguard the children? Is the situation upon which court action is based temporary or permanent? Is there a likelihood that the parents will some day establish a decent home and that the agency will feel it advisable to return the children to them? It should be understood that no child should be taken from his parents unless it is clear, as far as such things can be clear, that there is no hope of their reformation.

It should be remembered, however, that the child's rights are quite as valid as the parents', and that he should not be deprived of a happy foster home because there is a remote possibility that his abusive father may reform and make a home for him. [1]

Of necessity, some time nearly always elapses between the time that the child is abandoned or committed and his placement in a foster home. In other words, a child is almost never taken from his own parents and immediately placed with foster parents. During this interval he is cared for either in an institution or boarding home, according to the type of care provided in his locality. Such a child is seldom ready, in point of health, mental attitude, or training, for a foster home. He needs usually to learn the rudiments of cleanly living, he is often in bad physical condition, and he must have time to accommodate himself to his altered circumstances.

Parents Who are Incapacitated.—The third group includes children of parents permanently incapacitated mentally or physically; for instance, children of incurably insane parents, or children whose mother is dead and whose father is serving a long term in prison.

In addition to these three groups there are the orphans, always few in number, whose relatives are unable to provide for them.

The children are received from two sources—public officials and private agencies, in which group we include institutions.

Pre-placement Inquiry

Purpose of Inquiry.—There are several reasons why the investigation of the child's history must be thorough. We need complete knowledge of the child's circumstances and personality to place him successfully. Moreover, we need it to inform foster parents, who more and more frequently are demanding full and detailed histories

[1] There are in New York state over 3500 justices of the peace who have the right to deprive parents of the custody of their children. There is great variation in the use of this authority, due partly to the fact that many of these justices have had no training and have no legal knowledge. For these reasons many cases must be reviewed by the agency for possible irregularity of procedure or of evidence.

for the children whom they think of adopting. For the child himself, when he is grown, we must have the facts about his own family. If he knows that he is an adopted child, as most adopted children do nowadays, he will have a natural curiosity, which he has a right to satisfy, about his parentage. Last of all, but of increasing importance, is the interest of science, both social and psychological, in these records, so rich in human significance and in facts which need only to be assembled to have genuine scientific value. Scientific research may seem a remote affair to the harassed case worker, but her records may some day contribute invaluable material to the scientific student, and it is to research that we owe many of the methods which we daily use—the intelligence test, the Wassermann test, and the complete physical examination.

First Inquiry.—The work of this agency differs from that of many other agencies in one respect, that it cannot in every case control what is technically known as "the reception inquiry." In other words, the case of a child offered to this agency for placement has usually already been at least partly investigated, and the child has some time since been removed from his own family. For the agency this system has one drawback: that this investigation may originally have been made with the idea of separating the child only temporarily from his family, or made at a crisis in the family affairs which might have been tided over. Consequently it may be weak on facts relating to family history, as distinct from facts relating to the child's dependency and the immediate emergency. The agency must review each case with its attention focused on this question; should this child be permanently separated from his relatives? If no other solution is possible, the agency will then collect the additional information needed, either by asking the agency which referred the child to make a further investigation or by sending its own agent. Obviously, fewer facts are needed for the record of the child who is to be temporarily a public charge than for the record of a child who is to be placed for adoption. Moreover, the first investigation may have been superficial and a second inquiry may reveal a different situation. This agency has often had referred to it as

suitable for adoption children who, upon more thorough inquiry, were found to have relatives willing and able to provide for them.

The essential facts to be secured and recorded for the investigation of a child's history are as follows:

Legal Status.—How did the agency secure the custody of the child? By poor law commitment, by court commitment, by abandonment by the parents?

Family History.—This involves gathering every scrap of significant information about his family, including his grandparents, aunts, and uncles; their health, intelligence, schooling, occupations, habits, character, religion. Where and how have they lived? Why did they move? What did the neighbors think of them? Were they "queer"? What was their reputation in the community? What did they look like? Could they hold jobs? What kind? Did they keep a clean house? Were they quarrelsome? How did they treat the children? Have they records in a police office or in a social service office?

Personal History.—How old was the child when conditions in his home became bad? How old when he was removed? Where has he lived since—in boarding homes or institutions or in visiting homes? How long in each? How long has he been in school? His grade? His school record? His personal appearance, coloring, etc.?

Health.—Was he breast fed? When did he begin to walk and talk? What illnesses has he had? What kind of feeding, cleanliness, hygiene has he had? A thorough examination of his present condition will usually include a Wassermann test, and in the case of girls smears are made, whenever possible, for determination of possible venereal infection.

Intelligence.—The child's intelligence is usually tested by a psychologist, using one of the standard tests. Children whose parents or relatives show a marked degree of mental inferiority should always be tested, and also children who show serious retardation. The results of the test, taken with the observation of people who see the child constantly, give some indication of the child's mental capacity and help to determine whether he should be placed with a family who will be ambi-

tious for his progress in an educational way, or with a family whose work and interests are of a simpler sort.

Personality.—Information about the child's personality is as important as any of the more tangible facts which we need. It is possible to have on record a full statement of the child's background, his physique, and the circumstances of his removal from his own home, and yet to know nothing of the child himself. When it comes to the test, that of setting a frightened, neglected child in the midst of strangers, such knowledge may prove futile. What we really need to know is what the child feels about his own father and mother, about his separation from them, what memories he has brought with him, and what he hopes and fears from a new home. If a little girl has been brutally treated by her drunken father, will she be terrified by her new father? Often such memories lie buried in the child's mind, unknown to the foster parents or to the visitor, causing him worry and fear and making it nearly impossible for him to trust the strangers with whom he is living. Such a child can be hardly anything but unresponsive, disobedient, or dishonest.

In addition to knowing the child's feeling about his situation we need to know his tastes, the things that he enjoys doing, his temper, his demonstrativeness, his honesty, his ability to get on with other children. If he is a robust, boisterous child, strong willed and aggressive, he will never get on with the Browns, who want a sensitive, responsive child, but he may just suit the Greens, who don't on any account want a "sissy." It is vital to know these things in advance so that one may choose the right home for him.

Pre-placement Care.—Before the child can be placed in a free home, once he is accepted for placement, an interval of care in a boarding home is usually necessary. A child coming from a home where he has been neglected or from an institution where he has had no experience of ordinary household life is seldom ready for the ordeal of adjustment to a strange family. Training in the rudimentary decencies, as well as in ordinary good manners, is often necessary.

The boarding mother with whom the child stays in this interval is expected to give him the training which will fit him to go to a free or

adoption home. She may have to correct habits such as lying, stealing, playing truant or setting fires. If the child is placed while he is still, as the theologians used to say, "dead-ripe in sin," he is likely to prove so difficult that his foster parents will despair of making him a respectable member of the family. The worst of this transition between his own wretched home and his free home should, if possible, be got over in a boarding home.

It is, moreover, usually necessary to get the child into condition physically. Dental work and care of the tonsils and adenoids are almost always indicated. "Fattening" the child will often make him more placeable; certainly a general "grooming" will help.

No less important than the medical and general preparation is the observation of the child's personality made possible by boarding him for a time before placing him. The boarding mother, the nurse and a special visitor can pool observations of the child, with the result that he ceases to be a case record and becomes an individual, demanding this or that type of home.

Family History Records

The following record shows the amount of history obtainable in certain cases which at first sight may appear so confidential that there seems little chance of getting more than the barest outlines.

A Child of Unmarried Parents.*—**Child.**—Catherine Gordon, born November 30, 1919.

Father.—Graham Little was interviewed by a visitor to whom, after some hesitation, he admitted that he was the father. He was the head of a large department in the factory in which Mrs. Gordon worked. He was an American of Irish and English ancestry, thirty years of age, tall, well built and well dressed. He had dark-brown hair with a little red in it, dark eyes, large, generous features, and a well-defined chin with a cleft in it. He had a strong, determined face, with a good deal of sensitiveness, eyes that twinkled, and a hearty smile. One would judge him to be quite intellectual and rather emotional—a man of strong affections. He was a college graduate, had one advanced degree, and had held several important business positions. His health was excellent. He was extremely courteous throughout the interview, very controlled, but plainly much moved. He was frank and straightforward in his account of the whole affair.

* Practically all case reports quoted have been condensed. All names and addresses and identifying facts have been changed.

Mother.—Margaret Gordon, thirty-eight years of age, tall, slender, gray hair, blue eyes, high color, refined features, well dressed, makes a good impression; very emotional. She seemed to have lived the life of an average country woman, respected in the community, with some social standing and domestic tastes. She had, however, native ability and could probably have amounted to something in a business way. She had ambition and discussed the possibility of taking a business course. She had held a small political job in her district, and had had considerable responsibility at elections. She held an important position in one of the town welfare organizations. At the time that the case was referred she had a small executive and clerical position in a local factory. Previously she had managed with a partner a small but successful store, in the course of which venture she had paid off a large debt. She had had only a grammar school education. Her mental examination, made by the agency's psychologist, gave an intelligence quotient of 103. The Wassermann and gonococcal infection tests were negative.

Grandparents, Paternal.—**Grandfather** born in Ireland, a sea captain. **Grandmother,** member of a respected English family, born in England.

Relatives, Paternal.—Several of the paternal aunts and uncles were college graduates. One of them was a high school principal. Two uncles were in the army, one in business and one a farmer in the West. An aunt, married, was a stenographer.

Grandparents, Maternal.—**Grandfather** had kept a store in the city, had fought in the Civil War, and died at forty of heart trouble. **Grandmother,** interviewed by agent, was about sixty. She was a tall, well-built woman, with gray eyes and pretty gray hair arranged neatly. She had a bright, pleasant face, and was of the old-fashioned, motherly type. She was well dressed in black, with white ruching in her collar, and an old-fashioned breast-pin. Her English was good, and her manner very courteous. She was apparently from good old country stock and proud of her ancestry. She had a small income, which she supplemented by taking boarders, on which she and her daughter lived. She showed a good deal of feeling in talking about the baby, and had evidently taken the affair very hard. She seemed a finer type than her daughter. **Great grandfather,** an English Quaker preacher. He left an estate of about $15,000. **Great grandmother,** an English Quaker who had lived in ——.

Relatives, Maternal.—**Great uncles:** One in the trucking business, one an inspector for a city department, one in the hardware business, and one an automobile salesman. All the maternal relatives were respectable, home-loving people in fair circumstances.

Half-Brother.—Seven years old, seen by agent. A sturdy, well-developed boy, natural, and well behaved. He had heavy brown hair, large gray eyes, and a determined chin. He was doing good work in school and seemed thoroughly intelligent.

History of Parents.—Mrs. Gordon had been married to the son of a country lawyer who had been dissipated, and from whom she was finally separated, without a divorce. Her son was the child of this marriage. The sympathy of the community was entirely with her in the separation.

Both the father and mother admitted that they had been reckless. Little had been a boarder in the Gordon home, and had been nursed through grippe by Mrs. Gordon. This was the beginning of their relationship. Mrs. Gordon had become infatuated with Little. There had, however, been no question of mar-

riage. At the time of this interview Little was definitely opposed to such a plan, even if a divorce were obtained, and was interested in a girl whom he hoped to marry.

With regard to keeping the child, Mrs. Gordon's mother was unalterably opposed, because of the damage to their reputation, the expense, and because she felt it unfair to Mrs. Gordon's boy to have the child brought up with him. Little had paid $30 a week for the mother's expenses during confinement, but both he and the mother were firm in their determination that the only solution was to have the child adopted. The mother felt that for the sake of her son and because she was somewhat dependent upon her mother for support she could not keep the baby. No amount of persuasion had any effect upon her. She had made her decision deliberately, and was determined that the baby should be placed. There is no law in such a case which forces a mother to keep her child, and it was finally decided to accept the baby for placement.

Home Conditions.—The mother's home was an old-fashioned house, built by her family many years before, plain outside but attractive inside. The house was in good order, the windows filled with plants; the furnishings were plain, but there was one handsome piece of old mahogany.

Child's Personal History.—Born in a small private hospital; never nursed. An examination made when the baby was about four weeks old gave her weight as 7½ pounds; negative smears; Wassermann test negative; good nutrition. She was a pretty, healthy baby, with large blue eyes, unusually bright and attractive.

An Abandonment Case.—The following case is an abandonment case, and shows the steps taken by the agency in an effort to prove abandonment, and the amount of information collected, not only for the family record, but to make clear the circumstances of abandonment.

Child.—Robert Campbell, born February 2, 1914.

Father.—William Campbell, born in ——, February 2, 1882. American ancestry; Protestant. Described as tall, broad-shouldered, of medium complexion, with rather coarse features and an appearance of dissipation. He was probably a man of some personal charm in his way, talkative, genial, generous, and easy-going. Graduated from grammar school; did not go to high school; wrote very poor letters. Attended Sunday school till he was fifteen. As a young boy he went to live with an aunt and grew up in an environment of racing, gambling, and drinking. He has been a mechanic, a chauffeur for an ambulance, a munitions worker, a pharmacist in the army, in which he served three terms of enlistment, a sailor in the merchant marine, a drug clerk, checker for a freight company, and manager of a small restaurant. He has always been inefficient and lazy. In his machine work he stole tools, short-changed people, and did not work steadily. He ran over a child when he was driving an ambulance. He incurred debts which his second wife had to pay, and lost money gambling. He drank somewhat, but not to excess, and was not known to be immoral. He owed money to every one in his native town. He was weak and easily taken in. He showed an occasional affection

for his son, but never a real interest. He seldom responded to Robert's affection for him—never bought him clothes or toys and left his support largely to his second wife.

Mother.—Ruth Green. Born in Tennessee, date unknown; Protestant. Lost her mother at two, and was brought up by three maiden cousins. Her father visited her here only once. She was tall, broad-shouldered, and big-boned, with light hair and eyes and very high color. As a child she was strong and healthy; she had a hard case of measles at fifteen. Attended public school; did not like to study; was kept in the seventh grade four terms; left school at sixteen, was said to be too lazy to study, but wrote beautiful letters. Went to work in a store at sixteen. After several months was discharged for taking things and lying. Stole as much as $300 from the store where she worked. Worked in —— Hospital for Children as a nursery maid for nine months, till her marriage, earning her living and a small wage besides. Stayed out late nights, but nothing immoral was ever known about her. Spoken of as a "nice," fresh-looking girl, who apparently had been kept repressed by her cousins who reared her. She was thought at the Hospital to have an average mind—by no means stupid. After her marriage to Campbell she was very indolent, lying in bed late in the mornings and reading novels. When she went out with her husband she was well dressed and attractive. She was a very poor housekeeper, and though she employed two colored servants, her house was always dirty and untidy. She had no ability to manage them. She was undoubtedly devoted to her husband and he to her. She died of influenza in October, 1916.

Grandparents, Paternal.—Grandfather, Simon Campbell, about sixty-five years old; came originally from Ohio. American. Had always been a steady worker and a thoroughly respected man in Northtown; a member of the Board of Education. Was a plumber until a severe operation for cancer made this impossible. Had worked since at munition inspection and in shipyards. A man who always met his bills, well thought of by his neighbors and by his children. A member of the Methodist Church, but not an attendant. **Grandmother,** Mrs. Simon Campbell, fifty-nine years old; native of Pennsylvania; a slender woman of medium height, with rather straggly gray hair and blue eyes. She looked a little hard and uncompromising at first, but one got a better impression after talking with her. She had had a great deal of trouble in her life and it had saddened her very much. A member of the Methodist Church, but the family were not regular attendants. She suffered considerably from headaches.

Relatives, Paternal.—Aunt, Anna Campbell Andrews (Mrs. George Andrews), twenty-six years old. Had been married four or five years and had a boy who was a charming youngster. Mrs. Andrews was tall, broad-shouldered, had fair hair, blue eyes, and very good features. She took vocal and piano lessons as a girl. At the time of her marriage she had several pupils. She had a beautiful speaking voice. She felt that it was not fair to her own family to take Robert. She expected another baby in October. She said that she and her husband were struggling to make a living, and that all that they can get together would not be more than enough to take care of their children and educate them. **Aunt,** Dorothy Campbell, eighteen years old; a clerk for the —— Company in ——. A nice, quiet girl who did not give her mother any cause for worry. **Uncle,** Henry Campbell, seventeen years old; had a business training but preferred to work outside. A carpenter. From his picture he looked like a good, self-respecting boy.

The Campbell family was an average decent, American small-town family. They were people (with the exception of William Campbell) who paid their bills, owned their homes, and were apparently well thought of by neighbors. Their home was an unpretentious frame house at the end of a short side street. There were paved sidewalks and large trees in the yard. The lawn had not received much care, and was badly worn down. Otherwise the house presented a very neat appearance. It was painted pale yellow, and had old-fashioned shutters. Inside it was very spick and span. The furniture was old and not particularly good, but the rooms were orderly and the wall-paper fresh and in good taste. There were several old-fashioned pictures. On the piano popular music was piled high. It is quite possible that with three people in the Campbell family working they could, if they wanted to make the sacrifice, have cared for Robert. Henry earned $21 a week, his father probably about the same, and his sister not very much less.

Grandparents, Maternal.—**Grandfather,** Egbert Green, lived in —— County, ——. Was a farmer; married his first cousin, with whom he lived happily. Had a large family, whom he appeared to love very much, but for whom he felt no responsibility at his wife's death. After the children were taken by relatives he disappeared. Was a fairly good worker, and provided for family until wife's death. He owned a small farm, but sometimes went out to work by the day. **Grandmother,** born and brought up on a farm in —— County, ——. Had a happy married life; very fond of her nine children. Had tuberculosis and died of pneumonia.

Relatives, Maternal.—Eight uncles and aunts: two married uncles living in —— County, ——; one unmarried uncle, sixteen, in ——; one aunt died of kidney trouble; two died of tuberculosis; one of appendicitis. **Cousins,** Misses Margaret, Millie, and Janet O'Hara, three unmarried women living together at —— Street, ——. They ranged in age from thirty to forty. They were pleasant, cordial people of the middle class, and hard working; impressed one as highly respectable. Their home was a well-kept, well-furnished, six-room apartment. The two older women went out to work—one a stenographer in the —— Company, one a milliner. These three cousins took Ruth Green, Robert's mother, after her mother's death, and brought her up as their own.

History of Parents.—Robert's mother died in October, 1916, and in January, 1917, his father remarried. In May, 1917, his father went west, leaving the boy with the second Mrs. Campbell, and has never reappeared. The case came to the attention of the agency in August, 1917, through the stepmother, who had herself and her mother to support, debts to pay off, and could not keep Robert.

A thorough canvass of the relatives disclosed no one who was willing to take the boy. His paternal grandmother and grandfather had paid debt after debt for Robert's father, had opposed his second marriage, and took the stand that since the second Mrs. Campbell had married a widower with a child, it was up to her to support the child. They wrote her: "As for Robert, it is not up to us to say what shall be done with him—that is for you and his father to settle." Although they were interviewed by an agent, they absolutely refused to do anything for their grandson, even though the result of their refusal was to be the severing of all connections between Robert and his own family. They were able financially to care for him, but unwilling to do anything more for his father, and preferred to see the child turned over to a charitable organization. The only maternal relatives living whose address was known offered to put the child into a local orphan

asylum, pay something toward his care, visit him there, and take him out for occasional vacations. The agency refused this offer, feeling that so promising a boy should have the advantages of a foster home.

Obviously the question confronting the agency was whether William Campbell, the father, had intentionally abandoned his son and did not intend to reappear. There had been one note from him to his wife in the four months since he had left. Her letters to him had been returned unclaimed, and he had sent no money to her. His address was unknown at that time and has remained unknown. The local child-placing organization in the far western state to which he had gone was asked to trace him. It was discovered that he had been involved in some petty thieving and had been chased out of town. The police, who were communicated with, were unable to trace him. An advertisement asking for information as to the whereabouts of William Campbell was published twice weekly for six weeks in two papers. The two responses received threw no light on the movements of Campbell. None of his relatives knew where he was or what his intentions were with regard to Robert. When by March, 1918, no further information was forthcoming about the whereabouts of Campbell, it was decided to place Robert in a free home, which was done. By that time ten months had elapsed since the father's disappearance. One reason why the agency felt safe in taking this risk was that Campbell's character, as it was described by the numerous persons interviewed, showed a deliberate dodging of responsibility and an instability which made it unlikely that he would reappear to assume an obligation. An affidavit of publication was secured from the two papers and a statement from Mrs. Campbell showing Campbell's failure to support her or to communicate with her.

Child's Personal History.—A full-time baby; his mother was in splendid physical condition before his birth. The birth was normal. Child weighed 12 pounds. Baptized in the Episcopal Church November 15, 1914, by the Rev. ——. Received very poor care as a baby. Left to colored maids, who did as they pleased. He was never trained. Taken, after his mother's death, by his paternal aunt, Mrs. Andrews, who boarded him for his father. Taken by his stepmother after his father's remarriage in January, 1917. Boarded by the S. C. A. A. after September 16, 1917.

Physical Examination, September 16, 1917: Diagnosis: Present health good; scalp clean and healthy; eyes, ears, nose, pharynx, heart, lungs, skin, back, arches, O. K.; five decayed teeth; tongue clean; large tonsils; large anterior cervical glands on both sides; abdomen, genitals, negative; height, 3 feet ½ inch; weight, 30¼ pounds; nutrition good. Recommendations: To dental clinic; watch for sore throat; if throat is irritated often, tonsils should be removed. Tests for Wassermann and gonococcal infection negative.

Mental Examination, September 16, 1917: Age, three years seven months; mental age, three years four months: Intelligence quotient, 94. The tests show this boy to be of average normal intelligence. He is endowed with a very steady attention and remarkable powers of perseverance and endurance. Memory and comprehension are normally developed. His coöperation was very good. This child is very pleasant, well-mannered, and lovable. He is placeable in a good home, where he will have a chance to develop his native abilities.

Personal Description: Blue eyes, golden hair, features rather large, but good, skin fair and clear, expression friendly and alert; average height.

His stepmother reported him as very intelligent, mechanically inclined, very

observant, and persistent, good-humored, easily trained, and affectionate. He showed quite unusual powers of concentration for so young a child. Although he was shy with strangers, his affection for people whom he knew was strong and persistent. He was a rather serious, self-contained little boy, used to playing alone and amusing himself. It was clear that he had a decided character and needed firm handling, in spite of his amiability. His boarding mother grew devoted to him, and found him very teachable but strong willed. His stepmother reported that he sat down one day in front of her sewing machine, and after remaining perfectly quiet for about twenty minutes, explained to her accurately how it worked. He was about four at the time. It was felt that he was a child with possibilities decidedly above the average.

Sources of Information.—Information was obtained from: the stepmother and her mother; the grandmother; the aunt; the three cousins; the superintendent of the hospital where Mrs. Campbell worked; the head of the department store where she worked; Sergeant —— of the hospital where Campbell worked; the children's agency in the western state; the police in the same town, and from several townspeople of Campbell's.

Time and money spent in the exhaustive investigation of an abandonment case are seldom wasted. Such inquiry is imperative to protect both the child and his foster parents, and to assure the agency that it is socially and ethically justified in placing the child. Many agencies have doubtless known cases of premature placing of children, supposed to have been deserted, who should never have been placed.

For instance, one spring, about twenty years ago, this agency had referred to it for placement two sisters of three and five. The institution which referred them stated that they were orphans, had been deserted in the institution, and had been public charges for six months. Without any investigation of the authenticity of these statements this agency accepted and placed the children. It was several years before the actual facts, which were as follows, were discovered: the children had been placed there in an emergency; both parents were critically ill with typhoid; the paternal grandmother was nursing them, and the maternal grandmother was caring for the baby brother and an older sister. The mother died; the paternal grandmother had a breakdown, due to worry and overwork, and the father was forced to go to work as soon as he recovered, to pay his debts. In the mean time the family assumed that the children were all right. It was about a year before the family was reëstablished sufficiently to apply to the institution for the return of the children. When they arrived, they found that the

children had been "given away" to some agency for adoption. It took the family several years to find what agency had taken the children, who meantime were established in their foster homes. One was legally adopted before the family's letter of inquiry was received. This letter was the first information that the agency had about the circumstances of the children's separation from their own family.

The errors made in this case are obvious. In the first place, the record of the institution was incorrect in stating that the children's father as well as their mother was dead; that the institution was unable—or possibly unwilling—to give the address of the agency to the family is an instance of a disastrous failure in the keeping of adequate records. But the real blame rests on this agency for accepting without verification the statements made in the institution's record. There was not even the excuse that there were no clues to work on, for the children's home address was given in the record. A visitor should, of course, have been sent there to see whether there were surviving relatives who could care for the children. The result of such negligence was the permanent separation of two children from a family which soon became entirely able to care for them, and which is in every way a good family—a separation involving real suffering to that family.

An "Improper Guardianship" Case.—Child.—Catherine Tuttle, born April 26, 1912.

Father.—John Tuttle (if he is the father of this child; see personal history for detailed information) was born in ——, Massachusetts, in 1878. Little is known of his early history, but he is said to have come from American stock. When he first came into the vicinity of —— he worked for Mrs. Tuttle's father as a farm hand. He is said to have been very intemperate, and did not support his family properly, so that he and his wife separated several times. The aunt, Mrs. Strong, claims that she has heard that he used to bring men to the house in order that they might have improper relations with Mrs. Tuttle. He deserted about seven years ago, and has not been heard from since. He is a Protestant.

Mother.—Cora Strong Tuttle; Protestant; born 1880, in the vicinity of ——. Her mother left her when she was four years old, and she was then taken by her father's sister, Mrs. Graham, to Brooklyn, and brought up by her. According to her aunt, Mrs. Strong, the girl had a fair education and never worked outside the home except to help out relatives. Later she came back to ——, where she kept house for her father until her marriage. About seven years ago she began going with questionable characters and having them at the house. Various complaints were brought against her character, and investigations were made by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children covering a period of two years, with

the result that in 1915 Mrs. Tuttle served six months on Blackwell's Island, on a charge of having impaired the morals of her children. Mrs. Connell, Mrs. Tuttle's aunt, feels that Mrs. Tuttle was early influenced by her father, and thinks that he had improper relations with her when she was a child. Mrs. Tuttle is now living near ——, keeping house for a farm hand, and living illegally with him. She is a slight, thin, nervous woman who is very talkative. At various times she has gone out to do day's work.

Grandparents, Paternal.—George Tuttle and Mary Smith Tuttle. No information could be obtained concerning them.

Grandparents, Maternal.—Robert Strong died in 1903. He was a Protestant and of old American stock. He worked as a florist and farmer in the vicinity of ——. He was always a heavy drinker, and in later years consumed large quantities of some medical preparation which was largely alcohol. He had delirium tremens, and died of blood poisoning which was complicated by his alcoholic condition. He is said to have had improper relations with his daughter, Mrs. Tuttle, when she was a child. According to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Connell, he was a very mean man, and would not give his family enough to eat. Before Mrs. Tuttle's birth, Mrs. Strong was obliged to send one of the children to a neighbor's for a crust of bread because she was too weak to go herself.

Relatives, Maternal.—**Aunt,** Mrs. George Harrison (Lena Strong). According to the Strong family she was not much good, and left her two little children to go and live with a man in Connecticut. According to her sister, Mrs. Connell, she left her husband because he would not support her and took the children to his mother's, getting a place at housework in the village. **Uncle,** Philip Strong, Protestant, American, born in the town of ——. He was married and lived at —— Street, ——. He was in the awning business, and at one time was a fireman. Died in the almshouse at —— January 13, 1915, at the age of thirty-nine. **Great uncle,** John Strong, is a farmer at ——. He has one son who is trying for an army commission, and another son who is employed in a clerical position at ——. The family are hard working and respectable, and much tried with Mrs. Tuttle. They have helped the Tuttles at various times, and once took the family into their home. **Great aunt,** Mrs. Clara Howard, —— Avenue, ——. She has lately married a second time and has a comfortable little home.

Brothers and Sister.—**Brothers:** James, born at —— September 23, 1901. Was committed April, 1913, by Judge ——, to the —— Asylum as a disorderly child (truant), where he is at present. William, born in town of ——, ——, was committed February, 1915, by Judge ——, to St. —— Institution because of improper guardianship. He is at present in St. ——, where he is supported by the town of ——. He is in 3 B grade, and is said to be good natured and affectionate. **Sister:** Margaret, born June 22, 1898. In 1914 complaint was made to the S. P. C. C. of Margaret. It was investigated, but there was not sufficient evidence to bring the case into court. In February, 1915, when the mother was sent to Blackwell's Island, Margaret was sent to the —— Institution. She later ran away from the institution and went to her mother in ——. She was later returned to the institution. When seen in July, 1917, she had been discharged from the institution and was at home with her mother. She was working in the gardens of neighbors earning a dollar a day. She is an attractive looking girl, rather tall with dark hair and eyes.

History of Parents.—Married in ——, May 9, 1898, by the Rev. ——, of the

Baptist Church. Verified from records of town of ——. In 1911 the man deserted and no trace has ever been found of him. Had occasionally deserted before.

Home Conditions.—When the family lived in ——, the location of the home was in a rather undesirable part of town. It was frequented by undesirable characters.

Occupations.—The man was employed as a farm-hand or day laborer. After the husband deserted, the woman went out for day's work and occasionally acted as housekeeper.

Child's Personal History.—About eleven months before the child's birth Mr. Tuttle deserted, but his wife claims that he came back once and is the father of Catherine. Mrs. Strong states that at this time Mrs. Tuttle was going with questionable characters, and in her opinion the father of Catherine is Walter Engel, about whom nothing could be learned. The child was in her own home from the time of her birth until her commitment to an institution in February, 1915. She is a chubby little girl with a happy expression. She talks very crooked, but is quite friendly and affectionate.

Children Whose Parents are Physically or Mentally Abnormal.—There will always be a certain number of children whose heredity is such that the agency will question whether they will prove sufficiently normal for family and community life. However, although the agency may consider the risk of placing almost prohibitive, they often find that lack of funds for the child's support makes placing him the only course possible. The local poor law official, in New York state at least, will not support a child indefinitely at public expense if a home can be found for him. It often happens that these children of unpromising history are among the most attractive children available, and can almost always find a home, especially if they be young children. The local poor official may not regard his history as a reason why the child should not be placed in a free home, and if the agency refuses the child, he is quite likely to place the child himself. He will probably have no facilities either for investigating the home beforehand or for supervising the child there later, and the chances are slight that the child will get the special environment which his handicap necessitates. For this reason the agency may decide itself to place the child, so that he can be kept under supervision, and if he later proves a dangerous member of the community, be sent to a suitable institution.

The problem is particularly difficult when the child in question is so young that it is possible only to guess at his probable development.

As so often happens, the applicants may be much more attracted to this child than to any of the others available. Whether or not the agency places the child with them will be determined largely by the intelligence of the family and their ability to comprehend what mental abnormality means. One woman to whom the possible dangers in her foster child's heredity were carefully explained remarked, "Oh, well, I'll have him baptized and then I guess he'll be all right." Another foster parent considering the same child might insist on reading the mother's mental examination, and on knowing all the facts that could be hunted out about the education, intelligence, and practical ability of the grandparents, uncles, and aunts.

In either case the safe and fair thing is undoubtedly to explain to the prospective foster parents, in language adapted to their understanding, both the risks that they may be taking and the chances that the child may develop normally, so far as these can be foreseen.

Following are three illustrative records:

First Case.—Child.—Ruth Gibson, born December 25, 1911.

Father.—A man of extremely bad character; degenerate and unreliable; alcoholic. He killed his first wife by his brutal habits. He was nearly seventy when Ruth was born.

Mother.—Nellie Jones, illegitimate, born at a road-house and brought up by her father and the woman with whom he was living. She was beaten and maltreated, taught to smoke and drink. Her foster mother was a dissolute, high-tempered, erratic woman. Nellie went to school but was incapable of going further than the eighth grade. Her foster mother committed suicide, and before she drank the poison tried to make the girl drink it. Nellie was married at fourteen, but deserted by her husband, who could not live in the same house with Nellie's foster mother. Nellie worked as housekeeper for various men, one of whom was the father of Ruth. She was finally committed to a reformatory in 1918, but later transferred to a State Custodial Asylum. Her mental examination showed a physical age of 24–10–12 years, and a mental age of 9–2–12 years. She was pronounced feeble-minded; moron. Her Wassermann and gonococcal infection tests were both negative.

Grandparents, Maternal.—Grandmother, Jennie Green; a prostitute of the worst type. She lived most of the time at a low road-house. A driver told the agent that he had never seen such disgusting sights as at this road-house. Jennie was "a big, cow-like creature, silly, idiotic, who did not know enough to go in when it rained." **Grandfather,** Albert Burns; came from good clean farmer's stock, but was infatuated with Jennie. He led a wretched life with her, and died of drink and tuberculosis.

Relatives, Maternal.—There were a number of decent and intelligent maternal relatives, but they were unable to take the child.

Home Conditions.—When the agent began work on this case Ruth's mother had been living with a negro for three years and was pregnant. During the influenza epidemic conditions in the home were so frightful that the agent interfered. Ruth was committed for improper guardianship December 20, 1916, by a Justice of the Peace, and placed in an institution.

Child's Personal History.—The report of the child from the institution was entirely satisfactory. She was considered one of their most attractive children, teachable, and with no bad habits. The agent who brought her to New York found her affectionate and appealing, rather repressed, but with possibilities of initiative. She was shy, but friendly when she got used to people, amused herself easily, showed good concentration, and seemed altogether normal. The boarding mother, with whom she stayed about two weeks, confirmed these satisfactory reports.

Her physical examination, made December 13, 1917, two days after her arrival in New York showed good nutrition and no unfavorable symptoms. Her Wassermann and gonococcal infection tests were negative.

Personal Description: Ruth was tested mentally July 25, 1917. The report was: Physical age, 5–7–12 years; mental age, 4–6–12 years. Intelligence quotient, 80; basic age, 3. The examiner said: It is impossible at this time to determine the future mental status of this child. At present she is one year retarded and does not seem very promising material; still, she should be given a chance to develop. Her mental growth and school progress should be carefully noted, and a mental examination given each year over a period of several years or until her mental status is established.

A second mental examination, December 18, 1917, by a different psychologist, showed her actual age as six years, and her mental age as five years and six months. Her intelligence quotient was 92. The examiner said: This child is considered of average normal mentality. Her reasoning, observation, attention, and memory are normal. She is a lively, talkative child, and is considered placeable in a good home.

The foster mother with whom Ruth was placed free, with the possibility of legal adoption some years later, did not care to know about the child's history, as she did not believe in heredity. She said that she might some time wish to know Ruth's history, but her main interest was in the personality of the child herself. The agency felt, however, that it was not fair to let her take Ruth without knowing the main facts of her history, which were told her. It is, of course, uncommon to find a family willing to take a child purely on her own merits. In this case the agency felt justified in placing Ruth there because the child's development during the year that she had been under observation in institution and boarding home had been normal and promising. If she had shown marked retardation the agency would probably have hesitated to place her, even with a family who did not worry about family history.

Second Case.—Child.—Richard Emmons, born July 7, 1910.

Father.—Richard's father was a Swedish chauffeur of whom nothing was known.

Mother.—Anna was immoral, and since the birth of Richard had had another child by a different man. She was given a mental test in New York April, 1911. Her mental age was under ten, and she would probably be classed as a moron. The examiner said: "A mind of a primitive order and of moderate energy orig-

inally, operating with a low degree of self-restraint. The original low degree of self-restraint has been affected by anti-social performances, so that it has suffered an injury that is probably permanent and possibly progressive. There is nothing to warrant the belief that she will avoid a repetition of her previous performances unless put under some kind of restraint." The mother's Wassermann report soon after Richard's birth was positive.

Relatives, Maternal.—The mother's parents lived in a comfortable looking house with a good garden. They had a piano and very good furniture, and a horse and some chickens. The man earned $1.75 a day. A brother of Anna was considered delicate and not very bright.

Richard himself was a child of unusual charm and promise. His mental examination, made January 1, 1916, showed him to be of normal intelligence. The physical examination showed some heart irregularity. His Wassermann and gonococcal infection tests were both negative. He was given an examination by a specialist, who reported a slight functional heart irregularity but no valvular disease. The second Wassermann test, made by this doctor, was negative.

Placement.—Richard was sent on a visit, on trial, to the family of an architect, living in a charming remodeled farm-house. It was understood that he would remain until they could decide whether they wished to keep him permanently. They were given all the facts about his history. They wrote soon after he went to them: "He is a marvel of poise and charm of personality. He is so well and we feel sure he began to gain at once. I think he will show very marked development right along. He seemed unusually bright mentally." Later on they reported that he seemed unusually intelligent and rational. "He has an exceptionally fine personality, and seems quite unspoilable. A physician who had seen him recently said the child was as perfect physically as a child could be. Mentally and temperamentally he is thought quite unusual by every one who has come in contact with him, and he is developing satisfactorily. He is instinctively refined, has good perceptions, and is sensitive." Richard has continued to progress satisfactorily and the family are now discussing adopting him legally.

In this case the personality of Richard was the factor which decided the family to take the risk of trying him. If he had been a less attractive boy, it is probable that his heredity would have stood in his way. In cases like this the visiting arrangement is often successful, as the family do not feel bound and are able to make their decision in a leisurely way, and after close and natural observation. Such an arrangement should not, of course, be tried unless the presumption is strong that it will prove permanent, as the break later is extremely hard on both the child and the parents.

Needless to say, not all children with family histories of this type develop so normally and satisfactorily. There is necessarily a certain proportion of failures. The following case illustrates such a history and such a failure—a child removed by court order from her own

wretched home, given expert care and medical attention before placement, placed for ten months in an excellent country home, and finally removed from the list of children suitable for adoption.

Third Case.—Clara Michaels, born February 3, 1915.

Father.—Anton Michaels, a fisherman. Extremely alcoholic; sentenced fifteen times in the police court. Spent the winter following Clara's birth in the penitentiary for disorderly conduct and non-support. Served six months, a year later, for attacking his wife with a knife when she was in bed with influenza. Beat his wife and children. Never supported his family, but spent his earnings for himself.

Mother.—Emma Field Michaels, married at eighteen, after seeing Michaels only three times. He had just finished serving a term for beating his mother. She was an easy-going, slovenly housekeeper. She would buy candy instead of food. Never washed the children's clothes. Neglected her children frightfully, but was forced to go out to work to support them. Immoral; had an illegitimate child while Anton was serving one of his jail sentences, and continued her immoral relations after the children were removed from her care.

Child's Personal History.—A twin, born at home, in a filthy room with no fire in it; no blankets or towels in the house. Irregularly fed on condensed milk; had no clothes, but lay all day wrapped in a dirty quilt. Left alone for hours. When she was fourteen months old she weighed only 10 pounds, was unable to lift her head, cried with pain whenever she was moved, and had a white, expressionless face. Boarded for a year under supervision of a nurse.

Placement.—At the age of three Clara was placed in an unusually fine farm home, with a family who had brought up another baby placed by the agency. At that time she was active, in good condition physically, and seemed normal, except for her unusually large head and protuberant forehead. She had had a negative Wassermann test. The family were informed of her history and previous physical condition before they took her.

She remained here ten months, and was returned by the family because they "had no affection for her" and found it impossible to train her. It was difficult to teach her the simplest things. She had not learned to talk at all plainly, and made "queer" faces continually.

For four months after this Clara was kept under observation in a boarding home and visited also by a nurse. Her mental examination showed a year's retardation. "Her reactions in general are odd. In the midst of a spell of weeping a few words of reproach will set her laughing immoderately. Her speech is very indistinct. She does not seem able to form sentences." Her boarding mother said Clara was "silly." She drooled continually, and kept two fingers in her mouth. She was very imitative, stubborn, and nearly impossible to train in habits of cleanliness. Her speech remained defective, and the few remarks she made were usually meaningless.

Although her mental retardation was not extreme, and might be due partly to neglect, nevertheless her abnormally large head, peculiar appearance, and her "silly" behavior indicated that she was too unpromising to be placed. She was returned to the care of the local poor law official, with the recommendation that she be placed in a boarding home for further observation.

CHAPTER II

THE SELECTION OF HOMES

The choice of foster homes has already been thoroughly discussed in Monograph No. 1 of this series.* As that study is concerned largely with boarding homes, and as the work of this agency is almost entirely that of free home placing, it has been thought worth while to discuss here some special aspects of the choice of free foster homes, based on the experience of this agency.

When we place a child in a free foster home we feel that if everything goes well he will be a member of that family for life. We have, therefore, a sense of permanence about the arrangement. Consequently we tend to transfer responsibility for the child from the agency to the family. It is true that until he is of age or legally adopted the foster child is actually a ward of the agency. Nevertheless, the agency prefers not to stress that fact, except in certain crises of supervision. It tries to give both child and family the sense that the child belongs, first and last, to the family. It will not remove the child from his foster home unless the foster parents insist upon it or unless the child's interests will suffer if he stays there. The agency leaves to the initiative and discretion of the family practically all plans for the child. For example, suggestions for medical care, education, or for changes in the household arrangements are rarely made by agents visiting children in free homes.

Bearing in mind, then, that the free home presents a long vista in the child's life, we should make our preliminary examination of it with minuteness and foresight. The probability that the family will ulti-

* "The Selection of Foster Homes for Children," by Mary S. Doran and Bertha C. Reynolds, of the Boston Children's Aid Society. Published by the New York School of Social Work, 105 East 22d Street, New York. Price, 35 cents.

mately adopt the child, thereby cutting loose from the society, is a crucial factor. Because of it, we need to know not only the family's past and present life: we must as far as possible foresee their future, the results of their influence on the child twenty years hence, and their household life ten years from now, when the child has become an established member of it.

Investigations of Free Homes.—There is a minimum of fact information which must be secured concerning all homes. This includes the number and sex of the members of the family; their health, occupations, religion, age, and their habits and reputations; their experience with children; the family income, insurance, investments, and financial condition in general; the location and condition of the house; and the family's standing in the neighborhood, as it is reported by reliable members of the community. No investigation can be adequate which fails to get these basic facts. No amount of personal opinion on the part of the agent, no estimate of what the home offers to a child, can be sound and trustworthy unless it is firmly grounded on this essential knowledge. These facts do not represent the sum total of the information that we need, but they form the indispensable foundation for it. The references, as well as the family, are always visited by the investigator.

Facts of Personality.—When all these facts about the family have been secured, it is well to say to oneself, "How much do we really know about this family?" It is possible to have page after page of information about a home which, though close packed with facts, will give no impression of the family life. We want to know not only what the family income is and how many beds there are in the house, and whether the family are regular church-goers: we must know in addition their ideals, their ambitions for the child, their ability to see his point of view, the understanding between husband and wife, and, so far as it can be gauged, what difference a child will make in their relations to each other. Knowledge of the kind of childhood which they have had will often throw light on the kind of childhood which they will create for their adopted child. How often a foster father will say, "I never had a chance to go to school, but I mean to give my boy the

best education going," or, "My father used to lick me and I made up my mind then that if I ever had a boy he wouldn't be licked."

It is fully as important to know of a man whether he is patient and even tempered as to know whether he works steadily or whether he owns his house. It is more important to know of a woman that she is easy going and indecisive than that she is a careless housekeeper. A child may grow up to be a satisfactory citizen in an untidy household, but he has a poor chance of it if his foster mother changes her mind about what he must or must not do every day or so. It will make a vast difference in the later supervision whether the foster mother is resourceful and self-reliant, or whether she is the kind of woman who must run into the office every week or two to ask what she can do with little Ruth, who *will* tell fibs. If a foster father is going to be difficult to deal with in the event of trouble, it is well to know that beforehand. If either foster parent is intensely jealous, there will probably be trouble in the household when a child is placed there.

One home failed entirely, although beforehand it had every appearance of being thoroughly satisfactory, because the foster mother, an intensely affectionate and demonstrative woman, demanded of the child, quite unconsciously, more affection than he could possibly give. The child, a self-contained little boy who remembered his own mother, could not so quickly transfer his affection to his new mother, and grew strained and unhappy and in consequence disobedient. The woman was not able to meet the situation any better than the child, and it was finally necessary to remove him. If it had been realized beforehand that she wanted a high degree of affection from a child, it would no doubt have been possible to find the right child for her. Facts about these intimate traits of personality are quite as important as—one might say even more important than—the other information which is always secured. It is, moreover, very naturally the hardest kind of information to get, involving as it does keen, close, and unprejudiced observation on the part of the investigator, and the asking of questions which to the applicant and the references may easily seem irrelevant and prying.

Unsuccessful Placements.—Many children's agencies would find,

if they examined the record of their unsuccessful placements, that the failure was due, in cases where the family was at fault, not so much to ignorance of the material circumstances as to ignorance of the temperaments of the foster parents. It seems to us much more common to have a home turn out badly because the wife is jealous of her husband's affection for the adopted daughter or because a strong-willed child refuses to be dominated by a bullying foster father than because it is later discovered that the foster father has tuberculosis or the family fail to pay their bills. The placement of a child in a family involves changes quite as serious for the family as for the child, and the mere fact that people are grown up does not mean that they have control over their likes or dislikes. Therefore it is essential to have some idea as to how the entrance of a child into the household is going to affect the family life. One must remember that people who adopt children have wanted them intensely, and have often perhaps idealized them, and in most cases are expecting great things of them. With people who are tolerant and open minded there is little danger in their having thought out every detail of the child's future: where he is to go to school and college, what profession he will follow, what friends he will make, what he will read, what his tastes will be. Such people will adapt themselves to the child's developing personality, and if he prefers being a plumber to being a poet, they will accept it cheerfully and send him to a technical school. But with people of set tastes and unyielding will this kind of plan and foresight is full of pitfalls. They will try to force the child into their pattern of life, instead of watching him and discovering and encouraging his natural aptitudes. Such a process is bound to prove disastrous, as the records of any child-placing agency will show. Either the child is unhappy and repressed or he is actively disobedient. The strain is bound to show in him in some way that produces friction and often leads to a break. It is too much to hope that in any but the rarest cases such a family can be given a child who will not disappoint them in most of their cherished projects.

Family's Reason for Desiring a Child.—In this connection it is important to know why the foster family want to take a child. The answer to this question may be a simple one—the lack of children of

their own, love for children, loneliness—but it is often made up of complicated motives. One woman, calling at the office to ask about getting a child, admitted on being questioned that her husband had told her that he was tired of supporting a home just for her, and that if she could not secure a child within a week he would leave her. Though this is an extreme instance, there are in the experience of any child placing agency a number of similar cases; women who feel that their hold on their husband's affections will be strengthened by the presence of a child in the family, men whose wives are restless and discontented and who, they think, will "settle down" if they have a child to care for. Such motives for adoption, though they may enlist sympathy, are open to the profoundest distrust. The axiom, "Do not place a child in a home to reform the home," has sound common sense behind it. Two people whose relations are so precarious that they must have a third person in the household to make life together possible are not the people to deal wisely with the delicate problems of a child's upbringing. They are themselves too insecure and puzzled to be able to guide any one else. It should be remembered, in addition, that if relations between husband and wife are strained, the presence of a new and often disturbing third person in the family is quite as likely to precipitate trouble as to mitigate it.

Friction in the Household.—Very often a woman will say that her husband "doesn't care" if she takes a child; that he says that "it is up to her." In such cases a thoroughgoing discussion with the husband is imperative. Very often his apparent indifference means merely that he prefers to leave the choice of the child to his wife; but, on the other hand, it frequently develops that he is at bottom opposed to the plan, thinking that it is too costly or that his wife is too unstable or that his family will object, and that he lacks the courage to tell his wife so openly. A placement made under such conditions obviously has small chance of success.

The essential condition of a successful placement is undoubtedly a good understanding between the foster parents. Agreement on the fundamentals of child training, a common impulse, the mutual tol-

erance which can weather domestic storms, are all basic necessities. No investigation can be adequate which fails to get at these facts.

It is always valuable to know of any family what member has the strongest personality. It is that person with whom you will have to deal in supervision and that person whose influence on the family life and on the child's development will be most decisive.

Agreement Between Family and Agency.—The foster family, after they have taken the child into their home, are required by this agency to sign, in duplicate, a statement of their obligations to the agency and the child. This statement, a printed form, drawn up by the agency, includes among other things, their promise to send the child regularly to school, for at least as long a period as the state law requires, to give him religious training, to make him in every way a member of the family and to furnish medical care and suitable clothing. They promise also not to transfer the child to the custody of any other person without the consent of the agency. On its side, the agency promises not to remove the child from the family unless conditions in the home are later found to be injurious to the welfare of the child. Until legal adoption takes place or until the child is of age, the Association remains in the position of legal guardian to the child. The agent is expected to explain this to the family during the investigation.

Explaining Future Supervision.—In making the first call upon the foster family the agent should prepare the way for the subsequent visits of supervision. She should explain the agency's method of keeping in touch with its foster children, and enlist the family's friendly interest in the arrangement. She may approach the question from the point of the possible help which the agency can give the family—for instance, in advising them about doctors and schools. Some families who submit to the original investigation may balk at supervision; they don't want any one "poking into" their family affairs. Of course they know how to bring up a child—they wouldn't be asking for one if they didn't. Such an attitude bodes ill for friendliness between agency and family, and should certainly be set straight before the child is placed. Most families, however, are glad to know that the

visitor will keep track of the child and that they may call upon the society for advice.

Explaining Adoption.—At the same time the visitor should discuss adoption with the foster parents, explaining the length of time which must elapse between placement and adoption and what the procedure is. She should make it clear that the family are not obliged to adopt, and that the agency is not compelled to give its consent for adoption.

Explaining Possible Difficulties with the Child.—Many families applying for children have no idea of the wretchedness of the child's own home, of the appalling sights which may be burned in on his memory, of the long patient training that may be needed to offset years of neglect and misery. Telling the foster parents too much of this may shock them or alarm them so that they will drop their idea of taking a child. But they should certainly understand something of it, otherwise the child's faults will seem to them superhumanly bad and they will have no understanding of what suffering may lie back of them in his mind. The visitor should certainly explain to them that the great majority of these children have lacked training not only in table manners, but in the rudiments of decent living; that they have been hungry, cold, and half-naked most of their lives. The family should understand that they cannot expect to get a child who will be suitable in every way for introduction to their friends and family the first Sunday after his arrival, nor a child who will show only the usual naughtiness of childhood. They should be prepared to deal with real difficulties. This should usually be explained to them concretely. "How do you feel about dealing with a child who may steal?"

There is another side to this preliminary warning. Not only is the family thus prepared, but the agency knows what it may expect from the family. If a foster mother is startled and shocked at the idea of a child who steals,—"Oh, I wouldn't want a *bad* child,"—the agency has some idea about the kind of child who would get on in that home.

That foster families have sometimes astonishingly little imagination about the past lives of these dependent children was shown recently, when a foster mother was talking with a girl of nine whom she was considering taking. The foster mother had been told something of the

child's story: a decent mother had died in childbirth, a father who spent most of his wages in drink, a poor home and a big family. As she shook hands with the child, the foster mother remarked disapprovingly, "Haven't you been taught to curtsy when you are introduced to people?" This child had been with the younger children alone in the house while her mother died and her drunken father was on a spree; she had mothered the two terrified little brothers until the neighbors could get there. But she hadn't learned to curtsy! It is interesting to note that this woman made a complete failure with a very promising girl when she later took her into her home.

Choice of Neighborhood.—The agent making her first examination of a possible foster home should explore somewhat the character and possibilities—bad or good—of its neighborhood. Generally speaking, a home which is good enough is in a neighborhood which is good enough, but some decent families may live in so unsuitable a place that their application must be refused; overcrowded slums, for instance, or remote country places where the people have degenerated, or districts where the school facilities are hopelessly inadequate.

A danger of frequent occurrence in choosing foster homes is that of being taken in by the foster home that offers undoubted material advantages, but material advantages only. Every placing-out agency must be familiar with this kind of family: well to do, able to give a child every worldly advantage, but lacking in judgment, ideals and soundness. The friends of such a family and the family themselves are always loud in their admiration of the advantages that will surround any child placed there. It is often hard to resist such an offer, although one's better judgment tells one that for most children there is greater safety in the long run in a simpler home where there is common sense and a conservative standard of morals.

"Risky" Placements.—All these considerations bring us to the question, "Should one make placements which may prove failures?" This is one of the challenging problems of child care, and the answer to it cannot be a straightforward "yes" or "no."

It would doubtless be granted by all child-placing agencies that every placement is a risk, both for family and child. No combination

of human beings in an intimate relationship can be made without risk. Never can one say absolutely that such and such a child is sure to be a success in such and such a home. What those risks are has already been discussed; the family may demand an impossible response from the child, either emotionally or intellectually, and be incapable of adapting their demands to the child's capacity; there may be jealousy or a conflict of wills between husband and wife over the training of the child; incompatibility of temperament may develop between the child and his parents as he grows older; the discipline may be so lax that the child becomes entirely self-willed and self-indulgent, or it may be so strict that the child is repressed and unhappy. Or the child may prove so difficult that his training is a constant strain on his parents. All these risks are latent in nearly every placement, and the best that one can do is to know the family and the child as thoroughly as possible beforehand and to try to choose the safest home for each child.

Since any placement—even in the best of homes—has in it the seeds of failure, it seems tempting fate to choose deliberately a doubtful home. One's principle should certainly be to use only the homes presenting the minimum of risk. There are two sides to this hesitation; the family's and the child's. However mixed may have been the motives which induced a family to take a child in the first place, they usually end by developing a sincere affection for him. It is a truism that a genuine and intense love of children is compatible with dishonesty, hardness, and vice. The family may, after one has decided to take the risk and placed a child with them, develop any number of flagrant faults and still be sincerely devoted to the child. If the child has to be removed later, they will undoubtedly suffer. Especially in homes where the husband and wife may have disagreed beforehand is the wrench severe. Moreover, there is the sense of possession that normally develops. The foster parents feel that the child belongs to them, and it is unthinkable to them that he should be taken away. It is unfair to subject any family to this strain if it can be foreseen and avoided. Better to refuse their application in the first place, although they may say, "Give us a trial and if you are not satisfied at the end of six months you can take the child back." It is obvious that they

would protest vehemently if the society took them at their word and removed the child at the end of six months.

On the other hand, there is the child's side of the matter to be considered. It is natural for a child, particularly a little child, to take root quickly, even in a home where he may be unhappy or unkindly treated. His instinct is to stay where he is rather than to risk other dangers in a strange environment. To uproot him is to unsettle him profoundly, to make him distrust you and people in general, and to throw him back into his former feeling of regret at leaving his own home.

There are certain generalizations which one can make about when to risk and when not to risk a placement about which one is uncertain. There are so many more homes available for all young children of fair history than there are children available that there is no reason for using a home which may turn out badly. In fact, for almost all the normal and fairly attractive children there are enough reasonably safe and good homes. There is one exception to this, and that is the scarcity of homes for boys between seven and twelve. In their case one may feel forced to use a home which presents some undesirable features, for the simple reason that no other home is open. But for some types of children, for example, those of umpromising history, of unattractive personality, of limited possibilities, the doubtful home may be the only alternative to an institution. In such a case it usually seems fairer to the child to give him a chance in a home which, doubtful as it may be, is yet closer to actual life than the artificial environment of the institution, for he may have in such a home a better chance of preparation for living.

Records of Foster Home Investigations

An Approved Home.—The home which is described as follows is a good example of the best type of foster home—not wealthy, but substantial and sound:

Application of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Hasbrouck.

Home.—The apartment is on one of the main streets, nearly opposite the public library. It is over a block of stores. The entrance has been kept clean, and

the brick is still comparatively fresh, though the white plastered walls are somewhat soiled. The apartment is on the third floor, and well planned and convenient in every way. There are six rooms and bath; it is heated by steam and lighted by electricity. It is light and well ventilated. It has hardwood floors, but is furnished in an inexpensive way, in simple good taste. They have a piano and a victrola. It is well kept up in every particular.

For the last few years they have rented a cottage at —— Beach, where they have one of a group of cottages on a farm and spend the entire summer. Mr. Hasbrouck goes back and forth to business in his Dodge car. The cottage has modern conveniences, but is furnished in a very simple way.

Occupations.—Mr. Hasbrouck has always been in the hardware business. He worked his way up from the time he was a boy and for the last five years has been a member of the firm of —— and ——, —— Main Street, ——. This is a first class firm and has a good trade. Mr. Hasbrouck expects the firm to dissolve in the fall, and he is going to have the entire business. He estimates his net income at about $5000 a year, and says the stock in the business is worth about $2500. He has no other investments. He carries about $11,000 life insurance. They do not own any real estate. Mrs. Hasbrouck has never been in business.

History and Family.—Mrs. Hasbrouck is an American, thirty-four years of age. She would be good looking only she is too stout. She has regular features, brown hair which is waved, and gray eyes. She wore a simple embroidered blouse and plaid skirt. She is not well educated, but has refinement and uses good English. She has a good deal of poise, and is naturally reserved and quiet so that one does not feel acquainted with her in one visit. She seems intelligent and impresses one as a capable, practical person. She is positive and has depth of feeling. It was hard for her to mention her baby who died. She is not at all temperamental or emotional, and has a pleasing personality. She seems sincere and natural.

Mr. Hasbrouck is an American, thirty-eight years of age. He is well built and has a youthful, boyish, pleasant face, rather prominent rounded features, brown hair and gray eyes. He is slightly bald. He is particular about his personal appearance. He has a genial manner, it is evident that he is fond of children, and agent got the impression that he understands them and would be a sort of big brother. He said he knows it is quite an undertaking, but he feels it is worth while. He seems simple and sincere; a good alert business man and devoted in his family circle.

Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck had one son, born two years ago, who only lived twenty-four hours. Mrs. Hasbrouck had a hard time when the baby was born, and the child was not strong enough to live. She says she has recently had an examination, and her physician knows of no reason why she should not have more children.

Mrs. Hasbrouck's mother, Mrs. William Davis, makes her home with them. She is a woman between sixty and seventy years of age. She has a bright, intelligent face, white hair, and gray eyes. She is much more lively than her daughter, and is quite a remarkable woman for her age. She is bright and interesting to talk to, and evidently comes from a good old-fashioned family, of which she is very proud. She feels it will be a splendid thing for Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck to take a child.

Mrs. Hasbrouck was born in ——. Her father is dead. He owned a mill in —— and was prominent in civic affairs. He was treasurer in one of the municipal

departments, a member of the Board of Education, and a member of the Board of Aldermen. Mrs. Davis was brought up in the —— Convent, ——. There were three children in the family, one of whom died in early childhood. Mrs. Hasbrouck had two years in High School and then specialized in music. She was a student at the Conservatory of Music in ——, and had fine violin instruction. Her brother is a graduate of the —— Technical Institute and an engineer.

Mr. Hasbrouck was born in —— but has lived in —— since childhood. He and Mrs. Hasbrouck grew up together. His father is a cabinet worker. Mr. Hasbrouck had a grammar school education and studied music. Two of his sisters are graduates of the —— Normal School.

Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck were married February 1, 1907, at ——, by the Rev. ——. Mrs. Hasbrouck's maiden name was Margaret Davis, and it is the only marriage for both. After marriage they lived at ——, where Mr. Hasbrouck had a hardware business. They have lived in their present town for the last eight years.

Mrs. Hasbrouck's brother, Mr. Walter Davis, is an engineer in the South. Mr. Hasbrouck's brother, George Hasbrouck, lives at ——. His brother Albert lives in —— and has a large dry-goods store. His sister is the wife of the Rev. ——, of ——.

The atmosphere of their home seems most harmonious. Mrs. Davis spoke of her son-in-law's consideration for her and she evidently thinks as much of him as if he were her son. Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck have musical tastes, and it seems to be rather a complete family circle, except for the absence of children.

They are all members of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Hasbrouck is a tenor soloist in St. John's Church, and Mrs. Hasbrouck is organist. Mr. Hasbrouck is a member of the —— Lodge and the —— Club. They are both athletic and enjoy outdoor sports. They are both good swimmers and Mr. Hasbrouck plays golf. Mrs. Hasbrouck says the boys are so fond of him that they wait until he gets there at night to go swimming; they say it is no fun without him. He plays ball with all the children.

Family's Plan for Child.—Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck want to take a boy between the ages of three and eight for adoption. They do not object to the child being a foundling or illegitimate. They would like to know as much as they can of the history, but feel that with a child as old as this they can tell pretty well how he is going to develop, and except for hereditary diseases or mental deficiency or insanity, would probably consider one of average history. They do not care particularly for the student type, but want a happy-natured, responsive, intelligent boy who would be refined enough to take into their home. Mr. Hasbrouck would like to take him into his business, but would want the boy to develop along his own lines. He would not force him to do anything that was not interesting to him. They would want to give him a High School education. They would like him to join the church choir.

References.—Mrs. William Downs, —— Avenue, ——, is probably Mrs. Hasbrouck's most intimate friend. She lives in an unpretentious part of the town, but has an attractive home. She and her husband have adopted a baby who is now about a year old. Mrs. Downs has known the family for five or six years, and sees them every little while. She spoke very highly of them, and thinks that in every way it would be a very good home for a child. She says they both love children, and that waiting so many years for them and then losing their baby

has been most hard for them. Mrs. Downs considers Mrs. Hasbrouck an exceedingly capable person. She says she is very domestic. She is quiet and reserved, and it took Mrs. Downs some time to know her. She says she is very sincere and warm hearted and well balanced. She seems very well and enjoys making baby clothes for her friends' babies. Mrs. Hasbrouck comes from a good family, and her mother, Mrs. Davis, is an interesting, rather remarkable woman. Mr. Hasbrouck has a good business, is lively and happy-natured, and has a much more temperamental disposition than his wife, who has a very even disposition. All the children are fond of Mr. Hasbrouck, and Mrs. Downs thinks that he would make a very good father.

Mr. Henry Robbins is with the —— Title and Insurance Company. He is a real estate man. His office is at the corner of Main Street. He is a middle-aged, intelligent man. He says Mr. Hasbrouck has rented his store from him for five years and that he has every confidence in him. Mr. Hasbrouck and Mr. Dean have the business together. Mr. Dean had the capital to start it, and Mr. Hasbrouck has been his sole business manager. Mr. Dean is a very "cranky" man, and it takes a good deal of tact to get along with him. Mr. Robbins understands that the firm is to dissolve and that Mr. Hasbrouck will either continue it or start another business. Mr. Hasbrouck is a bright, successful man, and his impressions of him have been favorable in every way. He has met his wife a few times and she seems a motherly person. Further than this he knows nothing about them.

Independent Reference.—Wife of Dr. Peters, —— Street, ——. Mrs. Peters has a pleasant apartment on the second floor of the house in which the Hasbroucks live. She says that she and Dr. Peters have known the Hasbroucks ever since they have lived in town. She has lived in the house with them about a year, and feels well acquainted with them. Dr. Peters took care of Mr. Hasbrouck when he had influenza. She and Dr. Peters have been favorably impressed with the family. They seem to be nice people. Mr. Hasbrouck is very happy-natured; they usually hear him whistling when he comes home. Mrs. Hasbrouck is much more quiet and reserved. She has felt the loss of her baby so much that she can hardly touch Mrs. Peters' child. Mrs. Peters feels that their standards of living are high, and that Mrs. Hasbrouck would make a capable mother. She spoke well of Mrs. Davis also.

Mr. Lines, of the Lines and Lines Co. ——, has known Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck for the last five or six years, both in a business way and socially. His parents have been more intimate with them. His mother used to be an organist in the —— church and Mr. Hasbrouck was a soloist. He sings in a number of churches. Mr. Lines says that this is a splendid family; every one likes Mr. Hasbrouck and he does not know of his having an enemy. He and Mr. Dean have had the business together, but Mr. Hasbrouck is now buying out Mr. Dean and will have the whole business. Mr. Dean has been very difficult to get along with, and Mr. Lines does not see how Mr. Hasbrouck has managed so well. Mr. Hasbrouck is a man of high principles and a devoted husband—absolutely temperate. His chief diversion is his music. He is very happy natured and fond of children. Mr. Lines believes he would be a good father and that Mrs. Hasbrouck would make a good mother. She seems to be intelligent and domestic and sensible. He does not know Mrs. Hasbrouck's mother. Mr. Lines feels that we could not possibly make any mistake in placing a child with them, that it would be well brought up and would have all the necessary advantages.

Agent's Opinion.—Agent recommends the home very highly. It seems to be a rather unusual chance for a little boy where he will be brought up well and have a most happy childhood. Agent thinks Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck are just the right type of people to make good parents.

Probably the first feature of this investigation to strike one is the discriminating estimate of Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck. One feels that one really knows what sort of people they are, how they would behave in a crisis and in every-day affairs. One could count on them. Their tastes, their similarities and differences of temperament, the way the neighbors feel about them, are all clearly pictured. Their home life, the tone of the environment in which the child will grow up, is sharply felt by the agent, and in consequence plainly stated. The necessary facts are given regarding income, history, etc., and if the family should unaccountably disappear some day, one would have an ample number of clues by which to trace them. If it should become necessary some day to look up further the antecedents of Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck—and this may happen with any family, however good—there are enough connections given by means of which one could get the necessary facts. Every agency has doubtless had the experience of needing suddenly a whole new set of facts about some family. In such a case the names of former acquaintances, of previous firms with which the applicant may have been associated, the addresses at which they formerly lived, the standing and occupations of other members of their families, have proved invaluable guides. In this case it would probably be possible to trace the movements of both Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrouck from childhood to the present time. It is well to remember in investigating the best of homes that the business of placing children is full of surprises—often of an unpleasant sort—and that no amount of experience can prepare one for what may happen next. The only safeguard is as much information as can reasonably be assembled. Then, if something goes wrong, one has the facts to work on.

The references in this investigation were, of course, all personally interviewed. The fact that two were men, familiar with Hasbrouck's business standing, and two women, familiar with the home life, is a strong point. Men often will be found less discriminating than women

on the important points of the personality of the applicants and on their home life. Women naturally are not usually up on matters of business and finance. Both are necessary as complementary references. These references are not only well informed, but reliable, a fact the importance of which cannot be overestimated. Every experienced investigator will spend some careful thought on the character of her references: are they reliable, well informed, prejudiced by some personal interest, or the kind of people who "never speak ill of any one"? Are they interested in seeing the family get a child to the exclusion of their interest in what may happen to the child in that home, as so frequently is the case? Ask them in that case how they would feel about having their own child in the home and see the difference in their attitude. It might be good enough for a "charity child," but their own child—that is another matter. These references are specific as well. Too general a reference may be dangerous—it may cover a multitude of sins. It should always be challenged in the mind of the investigator. Often the only way to deal with this tendency on the part of references—and it is the natural way for many people to respond—is to ask specific and pointed questions, even at the risk of antagonizing slightly. But it can usually be done without antagonizing. It is not a sufficient recommendation when the reference says, "Oh! they are lovely people. You won't make any mistake giving them a child. They are awfully fond of children. It would be a fine home." One needs to know in addition how much experience they have had with children, how they get on together, whether the neighbors like them, whether they pay their bills, what their relatives are like, whether they are even tempered—in short, the agent will wish to confirm almost all the facts and impressions which she has received from the family themselves.

In the work of the State Charities Aid Association it has been found preferable to see the applicants themselves first and the references later.* The value of this order lies in the fact that it then is possible for the agent to approach the family with an unbiased mind and to

* In this respect the work of this agency differs from that of some other agencies. See Monograph No. 1 of this series.

check her findings later by the evidence of the references. It is true that by this method it is sometimes necessary for the agent to go back to the family and question them further on some point not brought out in her first visit, but indicated by a reference. But for once that she has to do this there will probably be twenty cases where the other method elicits more information.

A noteworthy factor in this investigation is the focus of it. It will be noticed that practically everything quoted from the references bears directly on how they think a child will get on in this home. In other words, general considerations have very little place in the agent's opinion; she keeps steadily in mind the fact of the child's welfare. She keeps the talk strictly on the point; that is, how will the characters and circumstances of these people affect the life of the child?

The report which follows is of an approved home and is quoted in full. The written references were satisfactory, but not very full.

Application of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Gregory, —— Street, N. Y. C.

Family.—Mrs. Gregory is a Russian, thirty years of age. She is a slight, pretty woman, with rather small, regular features. She has a low forehead, soft brown hair, and hazel eyes. She has a very gentle, eager expression, and a low, musical voice. She is of the refined type, and seems very quiet and is motherly in the highest sense. She is a woman of a great deal of intelligence and was well educated in Russia. Her English is very imperfect, but she does not use slang.

Mr. Gregory is a Russian, thirty-four years of age. He is a man of rather small stature, regular features, curly hair which is shaved close except for one lock in front, and a mustache which curls on the ends. He has an interesting, animated face and polished manners, and he uses very good English, though his vocabulary is limited. He seems to be an energetic, ambitious man, who is particular and strict, but very good natured and fond of his family.

Their daughter, Marie, is ten years of age. She is a large child, with blond hair which is docked, and gray eyes. Marie has a large nose and is not of as refined a type as her parents. She looks strong and healthy, though she is pale. She is very bright and studious, and one can tell she is well brought up. She was nicely dressed and was clean. Marie is in the sixth grade in school, and is one of four children who has recently been promoted to another school where they will take the last two grades in one year.

History.—Mrs. Gregory was born in the southern part of Russia. She is a high school graduate and taught in grammar school for two and a half years. Her father and brothers and sisters are in Russia. Her mother is dead. Her father had a large farm; one brother is a high school graduate and is a post office clerk, and the other brother is in high school. Mr. Gregory was born in southern Russia. He had a high school education, and was a post office clerk between seven and eight years. His grandfather and father were both priests in the

Protestant Church. His father had a farm. His parents and brother and sister are living in Russia. Mr. and Mrs. Gregory were married May 22, 1905, in Russia, by a priest in the Protestant Church. Before leaving Russia Mr. Gregory was superintendent of the postal clerks in the city where they lived. Their house was given to them, and they had the use of the garage and kept two servants. They evidently lived very comfortably. Mr. Gregory came to America in 1911, and his wife and daughter joined him in March, 1913, and they have lived at their present address since coming here. Mr. Gregory has taken out his first citizenship papers. He has found it hard to make a living in New York because of his inability to speak English. He has worked in different laundries on collars and cuffs. A little more than a year ago he secured work in Boston, through friends, as an inspector earning $50 a week. Owing to his being a Russian he lost the work, as the Russians were no longer employed in this capacity. Mr. Gregory is attending night school at a college four nights a week. Agent saw a certificate on the wall showing that he had completed a course in mechanical construction of airplanes. He has nearly finished the course in physics. His ambition is to become an electrical engineer.

Home.—The neighborhood in which the Gregorys live is not particularly desirable, but they are within walking distance of —— Park. They live on the top floor of a large old tenement house. The stairs of white stone look as though they had never seen water, and the house is very unprepossessing in every way. They have a flat of four rooms, two of which are very small, and bath. The house has steam heat, but was very cold the day agent was there, and the people living several floors below spoke as though the house was always hard to heat. The Gregorys' flat was clean, but not very orderly. The floors are painted and without rugs, and there is scarcely any furniture or decorations of any kind. Just one room is used for sleeping, and this has two beds which have good mattresses and were clean. The family take their meals in the small kitchen.

Finances.—Mr. Gregory earns between $30 and $35 a week. He has saved about $300 since coming to America, and they have money in Russia. They believe in depriving themselves of all that they can in order to get a good education, and Mr. Gregory wants his daughter to go to college. He said with pride that his wife has even offered to get work if necessary. He is beginning to set aside some money for the child whom they hope to take for adoption. They are evidently able to live very carefully and Mrs. Gregory is probably a good manager.

Social Connections.—The Gregorys are Protestants, and attend a nearby church. Their school is also within a few blocks of the house. They are looking forward to living in a better neighborhood, where they will meet nicer people, and said that possibly they would move next summer if they took a child. Mrs. Gregory has made friends with two Russian families in the house, but she says she does not hear very good English spoken by her associates.

Child Desired.—The Gregorys want to take a little boy between the ages of two and five years for adoption. They would not be particular about heredity, if the child is bright and attractive. The type of child does not make much difference to them. They have always been disappointed because they have not had a son to bear their name, and feel that they do not want to wait longer before taking one, as they would rather have the two children grow up together.

References.—Mrs. Menchen, —— Street, N. Y. C. Mrs. Menchen lives on the second floor in the house with the Gregorys. She is a large, ordinary looking

Russian, and has two bright, attractive children. Her apartment is furnished very comfortably and was clean. She has lived in the house with Mrs. Gregory for five years and has seen a great deal of the family and she was very enthusiastic in recommending them. She spoke of their being educated, intelligent people, and she says it is a very happy family group. There is never any quarreling and the Gregorys are quiet, pleasant people. Mrs. Gregory makes an intelligent mother and Marie is well brought up and bright. She feels sure Mr. Gregory is temperate. They are evidently people whom Mrs. Menchen looks up to and admires.

Mrs. Frankel, —— Avenue, N. Y. C. Mrs. Frankel is also making application for a baby for adoption. Mrs. Frankel is a rather bright Russian woman of the Jewish type, with dark hair and eyes. They have just recently moved to —— Avenue, and previous to this lived in the house with the Gregorys and knew them very well for four or five years. She spoke of them very much as Mrs. Menchen had done, and thinks there is no question about the Gregorys giving the child a good home. Mrs. Gregory is very anxious to have the baby. She has made a most careful mother and they are people who are well respected by every one.

Mrs. Heinsohn, —— Street, N. Y. C. Mrs. Heinsohn is a dressmaker and was not at home, but agent talked with her married sister who has an apartment in the same house. She says that she has known Mrs. Gregory for nearly five years but does not know her as well as Mrs. Heinsohn does. They met her through Mrs. Menchen. Mrs. Heinsohn's sister has never been in the Gregorys' home, but has seen a good deal of Mrs. Gregory when calling upon Mrs. Menchen. She has been very favorably impressed with her and knows that her sister thinks highly of the family. She could not tell agent where her sister is employed as she has just recently got work.

Additional Reference.—Mrs. Beckman, —— Avenue, N. Y. C. Mrs. Beckman lives within a block of —— Road, near —— Street, in a fairly good neighborhood. Her apartment is well furnished for a house of this kind and is clean. Mrs. Beckman is a nice-looking woman, a little Jewish in appearance. Her husband met Mr. Gregory at night school, where he is also taking courses, and he supports his family in the same way by working in different laundries. Mrs. Beckman seems to be a thrifty woman, and she talks quite intelligently. She has only one child. She says that she and her husband have known the Gregorys very well for five years; that they have often spent evenings together at one of their houses, and that they are very nice people. She thinks it would be an excellent home for a child, as she knows Mrs. Gregory has been a good mother and is anxious to have the baby. She spoke of them as though there could be no question about the home, and answered all agent's questions satisfactorily. She is sure Mr. Gregory does not drink, and that their home life is congenial and she considers them intelligent people who would be perfectly reliable.

Agent's Opinion.—Agent feels that we would be safe in placing a child with the Gregorys and would suggest giving them an attractive foreign child or a child of foreign parentage. It is a most interesting family, and agent feels that they will some day be in better circumstances. The house in which they live is a decided drawback, and the heating arrangements seem unsatisfactory, so for this reason it might be better to postpone placing a child with them until the severe weather is over. They are people who seem very superior to their surroundings.

The agency placed in this home an attractive boy of three and a half, undoubtedly of foreign parentage from his appearance, who had been deserted. The placement has worked out very satisfactorily for both foster parents and child.

Perhaps the first point which would occur to one on reading this investigation is the difference between the standards of this family in moral and intellectual matters and the very simple, not to say meager, way in which they have chosen to live. An investigator might easily have been so dissatisfied with their limited sleeping quarters, their scanty furniture, and the poor neighborhood in which they lived, that she would not have felt the matter worth investigating. But in this instance the agent was impressed by the personality of Mr. and Mrs. Gregory and felt convinced that they were sufficiently substantial to insure an adequate home to any child that might be placed with them. Further investigation fully confirmed this impression. The necessary facts regarding the finances, history, and circumstances of the family are all adequately presented, but the quality which makes this a good investigation is the agent's perception of the essential traits of character of this family; the ambition and energy which make the man study engineering at night after a hard day in a laundry, the woman's poise and motherliness, and their maintenance of high standards of thinking and working in the midst of poverty and unfamiliar and often difficult conditions of life.

Three of the four references interviewed had known the family intimately for four or five years, all belonged to approximately the same social level, although it is worth noting that all look up somewhat to the Gregorys, and all seem reliable people. Mrs. Frankel was known to the Association through her own application, which was later approved, and her opinion was especially interesting for that reason.

Two Disapproved Homes.—The following investigation, at a first reading, describes a plain but possibly satisfactory home. A more careful examination of the report, however, shows it to be decidedly inadequate. Subsequent experience proved that the investigation had failed to penetrate far enough to get at the real situation. After the child was placed there, it developed that the woman had so high a

temper that she was at times cruel to the child. The neighbors considered her abusive and quarrelsome. She was essentially coarse, had been very cruel to two children of relatives whom she had cared for, and quarreled with her husband. The child had finally to be removed.

The investigation is copied verbatim, except for the names and addresses. The written references were entirely satisfactory.

Application of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peters.

Family.—Mr. Peters is an American, thirty-nine years old. He is a little below the average height, and is rather slender and dark. He seems to be a fairly sensible and intelligent person, but is not well educated. He went to grammar school, but never attended high school. He seems to be quite an industrious man, and is evidently thrifty and temperate. He told the agent he had been wanting to take a child for some time, but had been hoping that he could find one whose history he would know. He has decided that he is willing to take a foundling if he can get an attractive one. He is evidently in good health.

Mrs. Peters is also thirty-nine, an American. She is stout and rather motherly looking. She is not at all well educated, but seems quite intelligent and sensible. She has good ideas about child training. They are plain people, of the rather ordinary village type. They belong to the Methodist Church and are quite religious. They would expect a child to attend Sunday school regularly, and would send one through high school.

They have never had any children of their own. At one time they took two of Mr. Peters' sister's children. Her husband was alcoholic, and she left him and finally obtained a divorce; recently she married again and then took the children back without a word of thanks to the Peters, who had kept them for five or six years and had grown very much attached to them. They are very lonely since the children left, and for this reason are doubly anxious to obtain a child.

History.—Mrs. Peters' father died when she was a baby, and since her mother was unable to care for her she was adopted by a family friend. She has always gone by the name of Jones, which was the name of her foster parents. They had no other children. When she was six years old her foster mother died and her father boarded her for a few years. When she was eleven she kept house for her father and continued this until she was twenty-three. She lived in ——, N. Y., before she was married. She recently found her own mother living near there. She is a respectable woman. Mrs. Peters has helped her and done what she could for her, but she does not feel that she could take her into her own home. She says that she always felt that the Joneses were her own parents. She did not give the agent the name of her own mother. Mr. Peters has lived in —— all his life. He went to public school and afterward worked at various kinds of employment. They were married sixteen years ago in ——. Agent noticed their marriage certificate in a broad gold frame hanging on the parlor wall. After their marriage they lived in —— one year, but afterward went to a number of different places in succession where they worked in hotels in the laundry business. At ——, Pa., they were at the —— Hotel, and afterward lived at a great many places in New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey. They have lived in —— now about seven years. Mrs. Peters' foster father is living with the family. He

is quite an old, feeble man. She said that he was not able to do very much, but liked to do odd jobs around the house and work in the garden.

Home.—The town is a very ordinary village of possibly 2000 inhabitants. In the summer there are a good many boarders. The house is in a good neighborhood in the central part of the town, two blocks from the Methodist Church, and very near the public school. They have a frame cottage of six rooms, which was exquisitely neat and clean and furnished in very plain country style, and portraits, gorgeously framed, on the walls; carpets on the floors, and very shiny, varnished furniture. The place was in very spick and span condition throughout. The house had been freshly painted, and the yard and garden were well kept and the house inside was perfectly clean.

Finances.—Mr. Peters earns an average of $18.00 a week the year round. In the summer he works in the laundry and earns a good deal more than this, but in the winter he earns less, as the laundry work is very light, and he clerks in a store in town. They own their home here. Mrs. Peters has a paid-up life insurance policy. Mr. Peters is insured and he belongs to —— Lodge, with which he has life insurance. The house and furniture are also insured. The people are evidently very thrifty and industrious.

Child Desired.—They want a girl twenty months to two years old. They are willing to take a foundling, but would rather know the parents of the child. Agent thinks a rather ordinary child would fit into this family very well, but she would not be likely to get many advantages.

References.—Mrs. North, ——, N. Y. Not at home.

Mrs. Frank Boyd, ——, N. Y. As Mrs. Boyd was not at home, agent asked her mother if she knew Mrs. Peters and she said she only knew her slightly, but she thought she was a good friend of her daughter's. As Mr. and Mrs. Peters were rather anxious not to have every one in town know where they obtained the child, agent did not explain the matter any further.

Mrs. Albert Harvey, ——, N. Y. Mrs. Harvey is a neighbor of Mrs. Peters. She seemed to be quite an intelligent woman. She has a number of children of her own, and she said she could think of no one better than Mrs. Peters to take care of a child. The children always liked to visit Mrs. Peters and she was very nice to them. Mrs. Harvey has known them for about three years. They are steady, thrifty people and seem to know how to care for children and to be willing to do everything they can for them. Mrs. Harvey seems quite enthusiastic about the family. She understood that they did not wish the matter generally known, and she agrees with them that this is best.

Independent Reference.—Mr. Waring, ——, N. Y. Mr. Waring, the Methodist minister, has known the family two years, which is the time he has lived in town. He says they are very devout, religious people and good church members. They are steady, industrious, frugal, and very sensible people, who would do what they could for a child. He said it would be a plain home, but he considered it a good one, although he did not think an unusually brilliant child should be placed with them.

Agent's Opinion.—Agent thinks that this home will probably prove a satisfactory place for a rather ordinary child.

This report seems to show, on the surface, a safe plain home of the lower middle class type. There is nothing in the written statements or

the verbal reports of the references to indicate anything out of the way. The minister did say that he did not consider it a home for an unusually promising child, but, on the other hand, he thought it a good plain home. We seem to have a picture of one of those simple homes of a familiar type, in which hundreds of adopted children are growing up happily and prosperously. It is probably just here that the danger lies; in accepting the superficial instead of getting down further into the facts to see what underlies the promising surface. A home like so many other homes which have proved satisfactory is likely to be passed by the agent with less consideration than a home exhibiting unusual characteristics. There was apparently nothing out of the way in this home; everything about it seemed satisfactory in its limited way, and the agent "took a chance" on its being all right because it looked all right, and was so like dozens of other simple homes which she had investigated which were all right.

But when one looks more closely at this report one finds below the surface a void where there should be facts. Probably the most obvious lack in this report is that of adequate information from references. In the first place, two of the original references were not seen. Because of the agent's wish to respect the family's desire for privacy, only one independent reference was seen. It is well to remember in this connection that it is sometimes necessary to choose between respecting this desire and securing adequate information. In such a case as this, where the family planned to take a child openly and were apparently in good standing and on good terms with their neighbors, there seems no valid reason why independent references should not be seen. An agent should feel herself justified in using any legitimate channels of information. The situation is different when a child has already been placed, and most of the neighbors think it the family's own child.

There is no characterization whatever of the references themselves. It will be noted that the first reference seen could give no information whatever, and that the second spoke in the most general terms, which might apply to a hundred homes. The clergyman, who had known the family only two years, was hardly qualified to act as a reference. Although the investigator does not mention it, he was, moreover, very

old and somewhat childish, and not a competent judge. Therefore, when one comes to sum up the opinion of the neighbors as to the home, one finds that it amounts to very nearly nothing. Certainly there is nothing to distinguish this family from scores of others. Yet it must be axiomatic that no two families are alike, as no two individuals are alike.

One obvious clue which was overlooked was that of the two children for whom the Peters had previously cared. Here was the best possible tip on the kind of care that these foster parents would give. They had already tried the experiment of taking children into their home—how had it worked out? Not a suggestion is given us, except that "children always liked to visit Mrs. Peters and that she was very nice to them," and that "they seem to be willing to do everything they can for them."

Another defect which becomes clear upon examination is that we know next to nothing about the background and personality of Mr. and Mrs. Peters. Mr. Peters is described—the essential characteristics of him—in two sentences. "He seems to be a fairly sensible and intelligent person. . . . He seems to be quite an industrious man and is evidently thrifty and temperate." Mrs. Peters is described thus; "She seems quite intelligent and sensible. She has good ideas about child training." Mr. Peters' background is no more detailed. "He lived in ——— all his life. He went to public school and afterward worked at different kinds of employment." Mrs. Peters' family, on the other hand, is discussed in some detail. But as her circumstances were unusual and open to some question, the whole matter should have been minutely investigated. Nothing emerges from the agent's report to guide us to the effect of this irregular life on Mrs. Peters. It needs no pointing out that we have here wholly inadequate information about the crux of the whole matter: what kind of people are Mr. and Mrs. Peters? What kind of impression are they going to make on the plastic nature of a child? What kind of childhood have they themselves had? How do they get on together? Why have they no children of their own? Which of them rules the roost? Are they even tempered or touchy? Is Mrs. Peters a stable woman? Will they

be friendly toward the Association? Why has Mr. Peters "worked at different kinds of employment"? What were they? Why did he leave them? What kind of disciplinarian will Mrs. Peters be? What are their standards and ideals, their views on neighborhood activities, on current events? What kind of friends will they be able to make for their child? These are only a few of the questions for which we have no answer. Had they been answered the home would certainly not have been used, as it was, with disastrous results.

Second Disapproved Home.—The investigation which follows is an interesting example of a home which could only be disapproved, so obvious are its drawbacks, but which from the written references, sent by people whose names were given by the applicants, would seem a satisfactory home. The only real objection to it mentioned in the written references are the facts that Mrs. Walker is in poor health, and that the couple are perhaps too old to take a child. It should be explained that it is the custom of this agency to send out blanks to the references as soon as the formal application is received and before the investigation is made.

The references are as follows:

1. Is Dr. Walker of temperate habits?.....Extremely temperate.
2. Is he kind and just?.....As far as I have been able to observe he is.
3. Is Mrs. Walker a good sensible woman?....She surely is.
4. Is the moral standard of the family high?....Yes.
5. Is the family in good health?.....Mrs. Walker is not real strong, but able to do a great deal at the same time.
6. What is their financial condition?.....He is a dentist and apparently doing well.
7. Have they a comfortable home?.....Yes.
8. Would you consider it a desirable home for a child?.....I think it would be. There is only one son (grown) who is home, and he is unusually anxious to help in this way.
9. What church do they attend?.....Methodist.
10. How long have you known the family?.....About fifteen years.
11. Are you related to them by marriage or otherwise?.....No.
12. Please state any further particulars regarding their character and standing. Mrs. Walker is a very earnest church worker. They are one of the fine fami-

lies of the community, and I think no mistake will be made if you do your best by them.

The second reference wrote:

1. Yes.
2. No answer.
3. Yes. Unusually fine woman.
4. Yes.
5. Average good health.
6. Reasonably prosperous.
7. Yes.
8. Yes.
9. Father, Congregational. Mother, Methodist.
10. Fifteen to twenty years.
11. None.
12. They have raised two children and they are fine, Christian young people of the highest standing. We consider them a better recommendation for this home than anything we could say.

The third reference, who was a former Commissioner of Charities, wrote:

1. Yes.
2. Yes.
3. Yes.
4. As far as I know very good.
5. Mrs. Walker has not the best of health, but nothing to interfere with a child.
6. He is a dentist, and I would say in comfortable circumstances.
7. Yes.
8. Yes, unless the parents were a trifle old. They have one daughter married and one son grown up.
9. Methodist.
10. I am not well acquainted with them.
11. No.
12. They attend the same church that I attend, and are considered very nice people. The daughter, who is married, married a man from one of our best families, and the son is manager of a store here and a very nice young man.

Following is the agent's report.

Family.—Agent saw Mrs. Walker at her husband's office downtown, where she works as office assistant. She is an American, Protestant, fifty-two years old, small and rather frail in appearance. She has white hair and dark eyes. Her character, from all reports, is excellent, but temperamentally she is somewhat erratic. She is a great church worker, and lately, when some sort of a campaign was held in ——, she seemed to think it was up to her to conduct the whole thing. She did not take her responsibilities well. She did some things twice and left others quite as important undone. Her manner was very nervous and hesitating. She

seemed very indefinite about facts. She is gentle and mild and without force. She is apparently dominated by her husband, who evidently forces her to work in his office. Agent feels quite certain that she is afraid of him. She is at the office all day and intends to keep on with her work if she takes a child. She does her own housework, with the assistance of a son who is at home. She is fond of reading and music. She said that she leads a quiet life, but it is pleasant. Agent asked her about her health, and she said that she is well. Agent felt, however, that she is not at all strong, and that she seemed very nervous, as if she were continually under a strain. Her attitude toward taking a child is peculiar. She has two grown children, and the thought of taking another child did not occur to her until the son mentioned it to her. It is for his sake that she is taking this child.

Dr. Walker is an American, Protestant, fifty-five years old. He is tall and thin and only slightly gray. He is rather cross looking, and has the reputation of being hard to get on with. Agent should imagine him to be without much feeling. He is evidently a "driver." His manner is very abrupt and not too gracious. He seemed to be intelligent enough, and has had some education. He thinks the whole business of taking another child into his home nothing but nonsense, and frankly admits that he is not the least bit interested.

Their son Robert, who is twenty-five years old, has always had poor health. He sent to —— Academy for a year and wanted to go to college, but could not stand this physically. He volunteered for service when war was declared, but was discharged from the navy because of physical incapacity. Since then he has been at home. He is employed irregularly by his uncle, and earns ten dollars a week. He left the navy in bad condition, and when he was sick at home he told his mother he wished they had a little girl there, because things would seem so much brighter. He realizes that he cannot marry for some years, and is fond of children. He said he would assist his mother with the care of the child or take all the care of it if necessary. He has been reading with Mrs. Walker such books as "Motherhood," "The Care of Children," etc., to prepare for this. His attitude seems hardly normal. Agent did not see him, as he was out, but he is said to be peculiar and very effeminate. He does not go out with young people at all, but is always with his mother in the evenings.

History.—Mrs. Walker, whose maiden name was Mabel Parks, was born in ——, Connecticut, in December, 1868. Her father died several years ago of pneumonia. He was a farmer. Mrs. Walker attended the —— Seminary. She taught music for a number of years and was fond of it. She said she hated to give it up.

Dr. Walker was born in ——, N. Y., in 1861. His mother died of typhoid some years ago. His father is dead. Dr. Walker went to school in ——, N. Y., and attended the —— Normal.

The Walkers were married January 2, 1889, in ——, N. Y., by Rev. ——.

Home.—Agent went up to the house to see Mrs. Walker, but as she did not find her there, did not go in. The house is on a quiet street, and is set in a pleasant yard. There are a great many flowers and bushes. The house is rather large, and is a yellow frame building. There is a porch at the front. The outward appearance of things was comfortable and tasteful.

Occupation and Finances.—Dr. Walker is a dentist. Their present income is about $40 a week. They own their home. Dr. Walker is insured with the —— for $2000. Mrs. Walker is insured in the —— for $2000. Mrs. Walker

says that she really makes a salary, but never takes it out—it goes in with the family income.

References.—Mrs. Gray has known Mrs. Walker for some years, and she could say only the highest things of her character and respectability. She said she understood that Mrs. Walker would give up her work at the office if she took a little girl; in fact, she said she did not see how she could manage otherwise with the care of her home. Mrs. Gray said that the fact that the children had been so well brought up spoke in itself for the Walkers. Their home life is very pleasant, as far as Mrs. Gray knows, but she said Dr. Walker had the reputation of being a man who is very difficult to get along with. The girl who worked for him has been known to complain and to say that he is somewhat a driver. Mrs. Gray feels that this home would do if Mrs. Walker could give her time to the care of a child.

Mrs. McCall recommends this home with certain qualifications. She says that Mrs. Walker is apparently taking the child for her son's sake, and she herself thinks that this is a very queer idea. Robert is very effeminate and unusual. She thinks it ridiculous that he would even think of taking care of this child. Mrs. Walker's health is not any too robust, and Mrs. McCall does not think she should have any more cares and responsibilities than she has now. Mrs. McCall feels Dr. Walker is not interested in this step, and that he would have very little sympathy with a child. Mrs. McCall could not say anything against the character of any of the family.

Mr. Adkins, Commissioner of Charities, is a very sensible man, who knows most of the people in the community. He said that he would not consider this by any means an ideal home for a child; if another place could be found for the little girl, not to send her to the Walkers. He spoke of Mrs. Walker's erratic temperament, and told how she loses her head when she has any extra responsibilities or care. He said Mrs. Walker is on the verge of a nervous breakdown, but he is certain Dr. Walker makes her work in the office to avoid paying an assistant a regular salary. Dr. Walker is rather a hard man, who is not interested in taking a child into the home, consequently if Mrs. Walker's health should give out and Robert should marry, the child would be left with an unsympathetic person. Mr. Adkins thought the idea of Robert taking care of the child was ridiculous, and said it could not under any circumstances be practical. He is a very effeminate young man, who never goes out at all, and his ideas about taking a little girl are rather curious. Mr. Adkins does not feel that this home should be used.

Agent's Opinion.—Agent does not consider this an available home on the grounds of Mrs. Walker's health and the fact that she is busy at the office all day. Agent also thinks it would be most unwise to place a child there for the sake of the fancy of a young man. She does not think, furthermore, that a child placed there would get the slightest sympathy from Dr. Walker.

This home should so clearly be disapproved that there is no discussion needed as to that aspect. But there are several points which are worth making.

It is noteworthy that the references in their written statements gave

a very different impression from that of their verbal interviews, and this is particularly marked in the case of the Commissioner of Charities, who in his written statement said that he would consider it a good home except for the age of the applicants, and in his interview said that the home should not be used. Mrs. McCall was also much stronger in her objections in talking to the agent than she was in writing. This is an excellent example of the hesitation which references almost uniformly feel about putting on paper their real criticism of a family, even though they may be willing to discuss the matter frankly with the agent who calls on them. It furnishes additional proof of what is fast becoming a maxim with child-placing agencies—always interview your references personally. From the written references in this case not a suggestion could be found as to the abnormal character of the son, nor as to the fact of Mrs. Walker's being away all day at the office, an obvious fact which one might expect a reference to mention, if it were not that the mention of it would naturally raise an objection to the home. One reference, it is true, omitted to answer, certainly intentionally, the question, "Is Dr. Walker kind and just?" But aside from that and the allusion to their age, there is nothing in these written references to prepare one for the really startling impossibility of using this home. The moral is so plain as to need no pointing out.

The agent could, no doubt, without seeing any references at all, have made up her mind that the home was not a suitable one, although she would naturally wish to confirm her own observation by hearing their opinions. It is interesting to note that the most serious objection to this home was based not on questions of finance, morals, nor standards of living, but on the personality of the various members of the family and their relation to one another. In this instance the objections happen to be obvious, but a similar situation, though a less extreme one, might easily escape an inexperienced or unobservant investigator. The undoubtedly abnormal character of the son, the bullying character of the father, the weak character of the mother, make up a household situation with possibilities of unlimited trouble. But these characteristics might exist to so slight a degree as to be perceptible only to

the trained worker, and yet be strong enough to make a failure of the placement. Such under-the-surface traits are best worth the attention of the investigator, and are naturally the hardest to penetrate.

The attitude of the various members of the family toward the project is also worth noting. Here again the facts are obvious; such extreme divergencies of view as are represented by the peculiar interest of the son, the hostility of the father, and the passivity of the mother would not often be found. But to a less degree they may exist in many apparently good homes, and it will pay the agent to keep a sharp eye out for them.

Full Investigations of Doubtful Homes.—It may be worth noting that the visitor in this instance made what might be considered an unnecessarily thorough examination of an obviously unsatisfactory home. The chief reason in this case was that the family lived at a considerable distance from New York, so that it would have involved expense and waste of time to get further facts if they had been needed. This is a policy which will probably be found economical. Doubtful homes within easy distance of the office can be investigated and dismissed more readily than those at a distance, which should be investigated carefully enough to prove beyond a doubt whether they should be disapproved or given a trial. It is an expensive matter to send a visitor a hundred miles to get some necessary bit of additional evidence.

There are other reasons why in some cases one needs what might seem a superfluous amount of information about a disapproved application. An association such as the State Charities Aid Association, doing various kinds of work throughout the state, may find one of its other departments involved in a local quarrel because its child-placing department has refused the application of a leading citizen of that community. A broad basis of facts for one's action is essential in such a tangle. Moreover, it happens occasionally that a family whose application has been disapproved refuse to accept their rejection, and leave no stone unturned to find why they were refused. They may send in delegations of references; they may even appeal to their representative in the legislature. In general, of course, this does not

happen, but with certain types of families one must accumulate what may seem unnecessary evidence. It may prove an economy in the long run.

Reasons for Disapproving an Application.—The grounds on which homes are disapproved are various; some of them have been noted above. It is nearly impossible to make set rules and to say that every home which has a certain defect must be rejected. It is, however, possible to indicate some of the chief reasons for disapproval. A bad reputation on the part of any one in the family or friction between members of the household, notably between the husband and wife, should usually rule out the home. Bad living conditions, crowded sleeping quarters, insanitary conditions or an inadequate income make the home undesirable. It has been the custom of the Association in some cases, when the home was in other respects satisfactory, to withhold judgment, calling the application suspended rather than rejected, and telling the family that they may reapply when their living conditions have improved.

Such factors as these make up the more simple and obvious reasons for refusing an application. Of equal significance and far greater complexity are the more intangible reasons, such as temperamental difficulties, a generally low standard of life, and shiftlessness, even though it may not be extreme enough to interfere with the earning of an adequate income or the maintenance of a decent home. It is undoubtedly true that among its applicants for children every agency finds a fair number of subnormal people. These families may live in a fairly comfortable way and be respectable people, and yet have such low ideals and such inferior intelligence that no child could be safely intrusted to them. It is usually very hard to put your finger on the basic defect of such a family, but as a shrewd and homely reference may remark, "They haven't got horse sense." Nor have they anything in the nature of an ideal of decent conduct and citizenship to give the child. In brief, there is nothing that they have to offer beyond limited material advantages, and for most children something better than this is available. Moreover, such a family is usually helpless in the face of any crisis, and is difficult to advise. This type of border-line home is

very common and forms one of the chief problems of the placing-out agent.

The home which is described as follows was investigated for the purpose of deciding whether a child whom the family had cared for in board should be left there for adoption. When Mrs. Gutmann took her, the baby was in a critical condition and the institution (not the Association) who had placed the child there said that Mrs. Gutmann had unquestionably saved the child's life by her nursing. The agent making the investigation had therefore to weigh against the defects of the family, their devotion to the child, who was still there with them, and their genuine suffering if the child were to be removed. In quoting this report, for greater clearness, only facts relating to the home itself, not to the child, were cited.

Home Disapproved after Complete Investigation.—Mr. and Mrs. Gutmann live in a small village and have an apartment of four rooms on the second floor of a cheaply built brown-stone house, the lower floor of which is occupied by a shoemaker's establishment. The rooms are well lighted and ventilated. The walls are kalsomined, and most of the floors covered with oilcloth. They have very little furniture, but what they have is of a substantial kind. There are practically no ornaments. There is no bath-room on this floor, and the one on the first floor is evidently used by both families in the house. The kitchen has only a cold-water faucet and an oil stove. The family have not lived in the house in winter, and do not know just how they will heat it, but they have a coal stove for the dining-room and an oil stove for the front room. The house was pretty clean and orderly, and the beds seemed comfortable.

Mr. Gutmann has been employed for the last month by the —— Company, loading milk on wagons through the night. He receives $30 a week in wages. In addition to this he is working a few hours each day for an ice company and has been averaging $12 a week from it. He has not held any position for more than six months, according to his statement. He is insured in the —— Company for $634, and Mrs. Gutmann is insured in the same company for $760. There are no savings to amount to anything. They are paying $15 a month rent. They seem somewhat extravagant.

Family.—Mrs. Gutmann is twenty-two years of age. She is of average height and build, has a high forehead, and rather blonde hair. Her front teeth are filled with gold. She has a fresh, healthy complexion, is lively and full of fun, and has a rather low voice. She seems to be fairly intelligent, and has evidently been instructed in the care and feeding of children. She is quite independent, and seems a little high strung and possibly a little quick tempered. She is wide awake and seems naturally very fond of children, but is not a particularly good housekeeper. She is not very neat about her own appearance, but keeps herself fairly clean. Her intentions seem good, but her standards not particularly high,

and she does not seem ambitious, though, of course, she is handicapped by a small income.

Mr. Gutmann is also twenty-two years of age. He is quite a contrast to his wife. He is heavily built, has a shock of dark-brown hair, large rounded features, and rather expressionless brown eyes. He is a little foreign looking, and is of the dull, phlegmatic type. He has none of the alertness that his wife has, and acts very dull and stupid. He did little talking, and often asked his wife for information which he would be much more likely to have and which she could not give. He did not appear mentally deficient, but has had almost no education or training and has a mental laziness which keeps him from getting far. He seems to be pretty good natured.

The Gutmanns have never had any children. Mrs. Gutmann says that she has had some internal trouble since marriage.

History.—Mrs. Gutmann left school in the middle of the term, when she was in the seventh grade, at the age of fourteen, without the consent of her mother and worked first as a bundle girl in the —— Department Store. Later she worked in the —— Waist Co., where she was a machine operator for seven years, earning $23 a week. Mr. Gutmann's father was a conductor and starter. Mr. Gutmann says he can never remember being happy at home. His father never liked him, and he was jealous of his only sister, whom he did not get along well with. His father, according to Mrs. Gutmann, was quite intemperate. Mr. Gutmann left school at 11 without completing the last two grades. He was obliged to give his father all of his earnings, and says he left home several times. He never sees his father or sister and does not even know where they are. Mr. and Mrs. Gutmann had been acquainted only nine months when they were married. It was a runaway marriage, as Mrs. Gutmann's parents objected because she was young. Her husband was nominally Catholic, but does not attend the church any more.

References.—It was difficult for the Gutmanns to furnish satisfactory references. They have a number of acquaintances, but very few friends. Mrs. Gutmann seems to depend almost entirely upon her family for outside companionship, and Mr. Gutmann is not at all sociable.

Mrs. Wagner is a woman about thirty years of age and is a wholesome, domestic type. She seems intelligent, dresses well, and made a better impression upon agent than Mrs. Gutmann. She has known Mrs. Gutmann for four years and seems to be her only intimate friend. She and Mrs. Gutmann spend a good deal of time together. She considers Mrs. Gutmann a capable, practical woman. She has only known Mr. Gutmann since they were married. In answering questions she said that he worked steadily and was temperate, he was kind in his home, and he and his wife got along well. She did not have much more to say about him, but did not know of anything detrimental.

Miss Breitman is evidently a bookkeeper in the grocery store opposite the Gutmanns'. She is a woman about thirty years old, and is apparently intelligent. She could not give a great deal of information. She has known Mrs. Gutmann for about five years, but Mr. Gutmann only about a year. She is not a friend of theirs, and has never been in their home, but they trade at the store and always pay very promptly. She could not answer any questions about Mr. Gutmann. She understands that he works regularly and has never heard anything against him. She says that undoubtedly Mrs. Gutmann is the stronger influence in the home. She is much more alert and intelligent than her husband.

Independent References.—Postmaster. He is a middle-aged man, rather keen and intelligent. He has known Mrs. Gutmann and her family for about four years. He says her family are nice people, of the plain middle class. He could not speak particularly well of Mr. and Mrs. Gutmann. He has only known Mr. Gutmann for about a year, and says he is not a very intelligent man. He is not physically lazy, but is mentally so, and the kind of man who will always be changing his job, thinking he can do better somewhere else, without having much foresight in the matter. He has not any of the snap of his wife, and probably never will be comfortably off financially on account of his dull, heavy make-up. He works steadily and is not a loafer in any sense, and the postmaster never knew of his being intemperate. He thinks Mr. Gutmann and his wife quarrel a good deal, but no more than people of their class usually do. He would hardly consider it a desirable adoption home, as he does not see how they would ever be in a position to take a child or give it many advantages.

Mr. Freund has the apartment below the Gutmanns'. He is a rather old man, rough in his manner. He at first did not want to have anything to say and does not wish to be quoted. He evidently does not get along well with the Gutmanns, and does not like them. He wishes they were out of the house. Both Mr. and Mrs. Gutmann "curse." He has heard that she used to be a "high flyer." He certainly would not want to recommend the home for a child. He has employed Mr. Gutmann to deliver the ice during the summer. He paid him $35 last month. He will not employ him in the winter, and what he earns from the milk business is his only regular income.

Agent telephoned the last company for which Mr. Gutmann worked. The foreman recalled Mr. Gutmann, and said he was employed there for three or four months last winter as a laborer. He was paid about $4 a day. He said that right after Mr. Gutmann left he collected the wages for a man who he claimed had authorized him to do so. This man made complaint to the company afterward, saying that he had not received his money and had not authorized Mr. Gutmann to collect it.

Agent's Opinion.—It does not seem possible to get much information about this family. Their income is insufficient, and the chances are they never will be much better off. We have almost no information about Mr. Gutmann, and what we know is hardly to his credit. There is also a question about Mrs. Gutmann's health. Agent cannot recommend the home as an adoption home.

This is a typical example of the home which, on first inquiry, seems passably good—in other words, a "border-line home." The finances might, at a pinch, be adequate. The family undoubtedly would be devoted to a child, the living conditions—a house in an open neighborhood—are moderately good, the woman is fairly intelligent, and until one gets well under the surface, there is apparently "nothing against" the family. With the exception of the man's dishonesty—not revealed by the given references—there is nothing flagrantly objectionable about them. Their own references, though they were vague and

not well informed, spoke well of them. An inexperienced investigator, influenced possibly by their obviously sincere feeling for the child, might recommend them. The experienced investigator will keep on till she gets conclusive evidence for or against. In this case the two independent references were able to furnish information which shifted the application from the "border-line" to the "disapproved" class.

CHAPTER III

PLACING THE CHILD

The choice of the most suitable home available for any child is in a sense the climax of the two long processes of getting information about the child and examining the home. All the elements, both of the child's situation and the foster family's, must be considered.

Experience has proved beyond a doubt that the success of your placement depends to a great extent upon what you know of the two elements of which it is composed. A searching inquiry into the circumstances and character of the foster family and an equally careful observation of the child will go far to obviate failure.

The Selective Process.—It is undoubtedly true that every placement is a special problem. Nearly every child has some physical or temperamental need or some factors in his heredity which demand a specially chosen and adapted home. Practically never does the agency have a child—"the nice normal child"—who can fit in anywhere. This naturally is truest of the older children, whose personal traits are more developed and whose past lives have left a sharper impress on them. Often four or five homes will have to be considered and discarded as unsuitable for the child in question before the right one is found. This selective process may range from the choice of a well-to-do family who spend their winters in Florida for a child of tuberculous parents, to the placement of a high-strung boy who steals, with a woman especially interested in the training of nervous children.

Drawbacks of Delayed Placements.—It is, however, clearly impossible to hold a child indefinitely in a temporary home[1] while one hunts the perfect family for him. This should not be construed as a contra-

[1] This agency does only temporary boarding work.

diction to what was previously said about the supply of safe and good homes; for a home may be that and yet fall short in some respects of the best home for the child in question. This sort of waiting is hard on the child as well as demoralizing for him. Both the boarding mother and the child recognize the temporary nature of the child's stay, and the feeling of insecurity thus created is painful and harmful. "It doesn't seem worth while to do that for the child—he's going to be here such a short time." Rather than have the child become aware of this feeling, it is better to accept the home which most nearly approximates the ideal home, realizing its limitations, and as far as possible matching the home to the child.

Choosing the Child for the Family.—Equally, of course, nearly every family requires, consciously or unconsciously, a special type of child. The question of discipline, the living conditions, various family situations may demand a child of a particular type. It is practically impossible to meet all the demands of the foster parents, whose requirements may range all the way from, "I don't care what it is like so long as it's a baby," to, "We must have a child who can go to Yale later. My husband's heart would be broken if his son did not go to Yale." Every attempt is made to give the family the kind of child which they desire, from the point of view of heredity as well as of personality.

The Association makes the preliminary choice among its available children; it does not show a large group of children to the family, leaving the first choice to them. This is sure to cause complications. The family are often most strongly attracted to a child whose background and whose personality make it improbable that he will be able to live up to their requirements. It is then hard to detach their interest from this child and transfer it to a child more likely in the long run to satisfy them. The society, with its knowledge of its children, is in a better position than the family to make this first selection.

It must be remembered, however, that there is, after all, only a limited number of children available for free home placements, because many dependent children have family connections which must not be severed. The foster family must, therefore, expect to make

concessions and to take a child who in some respects falls short of their requirements, if they are to get a child at all. The family have no more chance of getting the perfect child by waiting than has the society of getting the perfect home.

Meeting Between Family and Child.—The circumstances under which the applicants first see the child have often a decisive influence on their choice. The effect of good clothes on the child's appearance and consequently on the impression that he makes is a disproportionately important factor. One might expect that the more forlorn the child looked, the more the foster mother's heart would go out to him—but this rarely happens. It is well to remember that almost every woman is thinking, while she looks the child over, "What will my family and friends think about this child? Shall I be ashamed to take him about with me?" It is usually hard for them to imagine the change that a few weeks of good care will make in the child's looks. They picture themselves always going about with a child who looks fatally like a "charity child." Good clothes and well-cut or well-arranged hair will make a vast difference in this first and usually decisive impression.

It is equally important that the interview should take place under conditions which will leave the child as unembarrassed as possible. The office is usually a bad place for this, as the child is so often ill at ease there, associating it with doctors and hospitals and with his removal from his own home. Often he will hardly talk at all, so that the applicants get a disappointing and unfair impression of him. If the meeting can be at the house of some friend or at the home of the family it is more apt to make the child easy and natural. There are toys and new surroundings to interest him and he will be less self-conscious. Sometimes the family will take the child for a short visit so that they can get acquainted at their leisure. This relieves the child of the strain of being looked over at the office, which even the little child feels keenly, and it gives the foster parents time to make up their minds.

Information Given Family About Child.—Every facility is given the family to satisfy themselves about the heredity and the character of

the child whom they are considering. As a rule, they are content with the information contained in the child's record, but if they wish more, an effort is made to secure it. Such information may be relatively unimportant, and therefore omitted in the original record, but still of considerable interest to the foster family. They may ask for a copy of the baptismal certificate or the exact hour of the child's birth, or wish to know the height, appearance, and complexion of the grandparents. The record of the child is not, except very rarely, given into their hands, but the information contained in it is told them fully and frankly. Some details which would merely repel them, without adding anything essential to their knowledge, are withheld. If they wish, they may talk with the office doctor who made the physical examination or they may bring in their own doctor to examine the child. They may have a second Wassermann test made. They may examine the report of the psychologist.

When the family live at such a distance from the office that it is impossible for them to come to see the child, they are given all possible information; a photograph, a description of the child's appearance, his disposition and intelligence, and in the first letter a few facts about his heredity. These facts, like those given verbally to the applicants who call at the office, are given in such a way as to make it impossible for them to identify the child. If the family are favorably impressed and desire more information, a summary of the history is sent them. Here there is a vast difference between the amount of information demanded by one family or another. "Pick me out a nice fat baby," a farmer's wife may write, while the minister's wife may insist on knowing, in addition to everything else, whether the child's great-grandparents showed any sign of alcoholism and whether the child's blue eyes are "a cold shallow blue or a deep blue."

Preparing the Family.—In the placement of all but the babies the agency will usually find that it increases the chances of a successful outcome by preparing the family beforehand. For example, a family recently took a very difficult and active boy of seven. They saw him at the office first, and when it was clear that they were interested, they were told something of his difficulties: how he had nearly set fire to his

boarding home and had worn out a succession of boarding mothers; of his incessant activity and his impenetrability to discipline; of his physical difficulties, which made a careful diet and regular periods of rest essential. They were also, of course, told of his exceptional intelligence and his more lovable traits. The agent talked over with them the recommendations of the different people who had worked with the boy. When they finally took him home, they knew nearly as much about him as the agency did.

This method would not work with every family; many families are not interested in hearing much about the child beforehand, and some would be so alarmed at the risks suggested that they would drop out entirely. But a degree of preparation, suited to the family, will probably be found better than no preparation at all. This may be done both by the investigator and by the office agent who makes the placement.

Obviously there are certain kinds of preparation which should always be suggested; information about diet, hours of sleep or any special physical care which the child may need. If the child has any particular habit which needs watching and correcting, the family should, of course, know it in advance. If the child has had a very unhappy or frightening experience, the family will be better able to meet any emergency if they know about it. If he has been badly neglected, it is only fair to the child to make the family understand this, so that they will be patient with his possible unresponsiveness or slowness in learning.

But over and above these more obvious suggestions is the advice which so many foster families need about the experiment in general. Not to expect too much of the child all at once, not to insist on his being this or that type of child instead of the child that he naturally is, not to look for too great a demonstration of affection all at once, and, above all, not to look for gratitude—these are all lessons which most families have no idea that they need to learn. No one can have watched the process of a child's adaptation to a home without realizing how much more most foster parents instinctively expect from the child than he can possibly give. This kind of thing is naturally extremely

complicated to explain to most foster parents—sometimes most difficult to the most intelligent—but some idea of it should certainly be conveyed before the child goes to their home. It may be as simple as telling them that the child's table manners are bad because he has never had any training, or it may be as complicated as explaining that the child may for a while be sullen because he has had an unhappy experience in one foster home and is suspicious of another.

Preparing the Child.—Not only should the family be prepared, but the child, if he is old enough to understand it, should be given some idea of the change that is to be made in his life. With little children such preparation is naturally less necessary, but the older the child, the more advisable it is to enlist his interest and his willingness to make the experiment a success. More than that, one owes it to the child. It is only fair to take him somewhat into one's confidence and to reassure him. Talking the home over beforehand, explaining it a little, giving the child an idea of what the family expect, will often make the transition easier for both family and child. It gives the child a chance to say something of his own feelings, which are often hard to penetrate, and it will increase his confidence in the society to feel that he has been in a way consulted. Very often the boy or girl will have a preference, such as a desire to be in the country or to go to a trade school, to be in a home where there are no young children, or to take care of a baby, which can easily enter into the plans which the society is making. Following these preferences as far as possible is an effective way of keeping the child's confidence and good will. This preliminary talk with the child may be also the opportunity of explaining in the easiest way some of the reasons why he cannot go back to his own home, a fact about which many of these children are confused.

In talking over plans with the child it is advisable not to be too final about them. Many children oppose the idea of any change, remembering their removal from their own homes. With such children it is simpler to suggest that they "try it for a while" than to say imperatively that they must do it. It is true, however, that there are many children eager for a home, who really plan for it and count on it, and with such children the preparation is a comparatively simple affair.

Separating Children of One Family.—The question of separating the children of one family in order to find homes for all of them is a moot point. Often it is necessary to choose between placing the children in different homes or not placing them at all. Is it wise to deprive a sister of a good home because the family will not take her brother also? There are not many families who are willing to take more than one child, at least at the start. One has to consider whether a foster father and mother, or his own brother and sister, will mean more to the child as he grows older. Experience would indicate that a normal household life is more important to the average child than nearness to a brother or sister, when that nearness is purchased at the cost of a permanent foster home.

One must ask oneself, however, whether the separation of two brothers is going to be so serious a shock to them that no homes, however satisfactory, will make it up to them? Or, a more practical question, will it be impossible for them ever to take root in new homes? Should the fact that two sisters quarrel constantly be taken as a sign that they are better off apart? If two brothers are placed together and one proves unsatisfactory and has to be returned, should the other brother be removed too? All these questions must be met as they arise, and it is impossible to make rules which will always apply. However, it can be said that it is seldom necessary to separate two young children as there are usually enough families who are willing to take them. It is for the children between five and twelve that the break is hardest. The Association has arranged in many instances for correspondence between older brothers and sisters, when it has been necessary to separate them, by having the letters pass through the office. This plan is always made with the consent of the foster families. Every such case must be individually considered. The visitor who knows the children best must find out as far as she can how strong is the feeling between the children and how heavily it would weigh against the child's desire for a father and mother. In cases where the feeling is strong, the agency will work for an indefinite time to keep the children together.

Much may be done toward finding a home for two or more children

of the same family by advertising, by interesting committees and every friend of the work, and by getting people to take children for a visit, "to see how it works out."

There is one element in this situation which often forces the society to separate children of one family, and that is the unwillingness of most poor law officials in New York state to support the children indefinitely in a temporary home until they can be permanently placed together.

Only in exceptional cases is a boy or girl placed in a family where there is a girl or boy of the same age. When the foster mother is unusually capable of handling the problem, it may be done, or when there are advantages which outweigh the risks. Needless to say, the character of the children in question must be thoroughly known and the children carefully selected.

A Placement Record

A Carefully Selected Home.—The case which follows illustrates a selective process which is frequent in child-placing. It shows the need of choosing a special type of home for a child with certain handicaps; a process which naturally is called for more frequently with the older and more difficult children.

Julia Murray was ten when her case was referred to the agency. Her history was meager. She was the child of a traveling man and a woman, unmarried, who gave the baby soon after birth to a notorious woman. This woman and three others lived with a dissolute man by the name of Charles Murray, who cohabited with all of them. It became known to the local children's agent that Julia was sleeping with Charles Murray. She was removed on the charge of improper guardianship. In addition to the immorality of the home, there was constant poverty and brawling. Julia was brought to New York and was given a mental and physical examination. The physical examination showed an abnormally large head, but no other marked peculiarities. The mental examination report was: Physical age, ten years and one month; mental age, eight years and one month. The examiner considered her not at all promising. Her Wassermann test and test for gonococcal infection were negative. It was thought best to keep her under observation for a time and to test her again before deciding what was to be done with her. At the end of that period, when she was nearly thirteen, the following report was received concerning her progress:

"When Julia entered here she was tested and received a rating mentally of over two years behind her physical age. She was very backward about making

friends, did not like school, and appeared to regard every one as her natural enemy. All these traits had to be handled very carefully, and there were times when it seemed that Julia could never be made to feel thoroughly at ease among the other children. But the last six months she has changed remarkably, she now plays normally with all the girls, is well liked by them, and her school work has improved, although it is still hard for her. However, she shows great determination and is determined to get through the 5B grade this June. A recent test I gave her rates her barely a year behind her normal age and in some ways she is ahead of the average. Dr. ——, who tested her thoroughly yesterday, found her well able to hold her own along most lines, and this fact, together with her marked improvement in disposition, has led me to hope that a family home may be found for her. Julia is certainly an appealing girl, anxious for love and affection, and very ready to return it. Careful inquiries among her teachers and supervisors fail to reveal any 'bad' or unusual traits and all speak well of the child."

With these facts in view the agency prepared to find a home for Julia. Among the factors to be considered was the very obvious one of locality. It was imperative that she should not be placed anywhere in her old neighborhood as her former foster father had sworn to get her back. She was the kind of child who needed plenty of outdoor life and an environment where the details of refinement that mean so much to many foster parents would not be demanded of her. An active life in simple surroundings was indicated by her natural tastes. She was not the kind of girl who would appeal to a family who wanted a refined child whom they could dress daintily and send to a finishing school. Nor was she independent enough for the family who wanted a girl of vigorous intelligence, who could learn to make her own way later. Owing to her early circumstances, which indicated quite clearly that she had been exposed to a premature sexual experience, it did not seem safe to place her in a home with younger children, as is so often done with a girl of this age, for fear of her communicating to them something of her own experience. Again because of those experiences it was a question whether it were safe to place her in a home where there was a man. It had been clear when she was removed from her own home that she was overfond of men and boys. It was felt that her behavior with men might be of two types: aversion and distrust because of her previous hard experience or an excessive interest. Neither of these gave much hope of a successful outcome. There was also her mental backwardness to be considered. Although she had made excellent progress in the past two or three years, there was no doubt that she was slow mentally and found school work difficult. That eliminated for her a home where much would be expected of her in an educational way. A home where she would be treated as something of a servant was obviously inadvisable, as she was an unusually affectionate girl, rather childlike in her desire for affection and interest.

The home which was finally chosen and in which she has been for more than two years is described in the following report, which has been condensed.

Investigation of Foster Home

Family.—Miss Martha Stone is an American of about fifty years of age, Protestant. She is tall, with somewhat thin hair turning slightly gray above the temples. She was quite reserved at first, but showed kindliness and friendliness. Miss Stone has had a public school education and has gained quite a reputation both in —— and her old home,——, as a practical nurse.

History.—Miss Stone was born in Connecticut, but moved while very young to ——. She lived there all her life until she came to —— five years ago. While in —— she had some very practical care of children, looking after the children of her brother. She also displayed in that town a keen sense of community spirit. She had charge of a small public library in her old home.

With her lives Miss Brace, a woman about sixty years old. Miss Stone and Miss Brace are old friends, having lived together many years at ——. Miss Brace is an American of Protestant religion. She has been in —— for three years. She is tall and walks with a swinging, buoyant step. Her hair is quite gray, but her face expresses a youthful humor and charm. Her manner is cordial and easy. She is a farmer and takes entire care of 50 acres of ground. She sometimes has a man to assist in the heaviest work

Home.—The environment is typically country. The school is half a mile away in —— and also the church. The child would attend the Presbyterian Sunday School. The home is an old stone farm-house, small, plain, extremely neat looking. It is situated in a lonely, lovely ountry, with tiny fields and low hills all about. The nearest neighbors are in the village, one-half mile away. The first floor is a sort of basement arrangement. Here they have their kitchen, a large, airy room, and off the kitchen a store-room. The living room is a livable looking room, with old New England charm. Everything is exquisitely neat. Besides the living room there are three rooms rented to their paying summer guests. A stairway leads to a half-story attic. There are two attic rooms on this floor, and these are occup ed by Miss Stone and Miss Brace. The general condition of the place is good. There is no bath in the house, and there is an outside toilet. It was in good condition. There is a small-sized barn several hundred feet from the house, and it looked in fairly good condition.

Finances.—Miss Stone has not been employed in any capacity excepting by her brother as a nurse for his children and has done nursing in cases of light illness. Even now she sometimes goes out to nurse friends or neighbors. She does very little of this because her summer boarders keep her very busy. Miss Stone and Miss Brace own their own home and 50 acres of land. From this farm they derive a comfortable living. To help matters along they have their summer guests, and they hope, when the new bungalow is finished, to have from eight to ten boarders, each one paying ten dollars a week. (This was in 1918.)

Social Connections.—Miss Stone belongs to the Presbyterian Church. They are in very close touch with all church social activities and they have many friends in the village.

Child Desired.—Miss Stone said she would be unable to come to New York to see a child; that she would trust to the judgment of the S. C. A. A. in selecting the kind best suited to her needs. She would like a little girl about twelve years of age. She is taking her for companionship and to do small errands. She believes a country child would be best, and they would like some one who would be

able to fit in nicely with their home life. If the child is satisfactory, she hopes to adopt her and bring her up as her own girl.

References.—Mrs. A. H., ——, New York. Mrs. H. said she could always say a good word for Miss Stone. She has known Miss Stone for five years—the longer she knows her the better she likes her; in fact, Miss Stone is liked by every one in the village, and she holds quite a place in the communit . As for a child being placed there, she thought it would be splendid for both the child and Miss Stone. She mentioned Miss Stone's excellent training in the care of children. She recommended Miss Stone as well as Miss Brace very highly. Agent feels that Mrs. H. is a sensible woman and would have good judgment about a home for a child.

Mrs. D. A. and Mrs. E. B., ——, New York. Agent called to see Mrs. A. and her daughter, Mrs. B. They have a farm just on the edge of the village. Their place looked quite prosperous, and the references seemed of good standing and respectable people. Mrs. A spoke of Miss Stone's knowledge of practical nursing. She said she was unusually efficient, besides being a very kindly and gentle woman. Mrs. B. said she felt that Miss Stone has a way with children most unusual in a woman of her age. Mrs. B. has a little boy and she said she has often seen Miss Stone's attitude toward this little boy. They both have known Miss Stone for three years.

Independent Reference.—Mr. and Mrs. C. B., the B—— Hotel, ——, New York, good independent references. Mr. and Mrs. B. said that Miss Stone is a very kind, intelligent woman. They seemed to feel Miss Brace is very unusual because she is a farmer. They spoke of Miss Stone's good standing in the village, and felt a child would have devoted and loving care with these two women.

Agent's Opinion.—Agent feels this home would be ideal for a child accustomed to the quietness of the country, for there prevails in the whole place a certain quiet, natural, homey atmosphere. Any child responding to their care would be greatly loved and could be very happy.

Miss Stone had written before Julia went to her, "I have always had children with me until recently, and I miss their brightness. She will, of course, have her duties and work to do, but no more than will be good for her. We are two women making a home for ourselves and we will share it with her." Just before Julia was to go there Miss Stone wrote her a little note welcoming her, and the agent who called to take her out to the country found Julia delighted with it and reading and rereading it.

There were, of course, many difficulties in adapting Julia even to this kindly home, but there has been good feeling on the part of both Miss Stone and Julia to help in the settling down. The last report received, which came from Julia's teacher, said, "Julia is doing very well in school. She has a very nice home, and is apparently very

happy in it. She is showing a steady improvement in character, is developing habits of industry and neatness, and a taste for the better things of life. She particularly pleases me by showing a marked degree of improvement in truthfulness and in confidence in her friends. I have grown fond of the child and am very much interested in her training."

It should perhaps be added that, although there seemed a possibility of overwork here, later supervision showed no such difficulty.

Choosing Homes for Older Children

The choice of a home for a child over twelve presents a different problem from that of the placement of a young child. For one thing, the older girls and boys have probably been recently taken away from their own homes and are consequently resentful and distrustful. They are not likely to take kindly to new parents. Therefore it is not always possible for the family to treat them as sons and daughters. Such an attitude in the children will never yield to forcing. Much better to leave it alone and to concentrate on trying to understand and to solve the child's particular problems.

One obvious difficulty with these placements is the neglect and vice in the midst of which these children have grown up, and which have usually resulted in faults which will need patient correction. There are also the children who have had little recent experience of family life, coming from institutions, and who must be helped through the period of adaptation to life in the ordinary household. This, together with the suspicion and resentment which make up so large a part of the consciousness of children forcibly taken from their own homes, forms a problem which calls for understanding and patience on the part of the foster parents.

Simple Homes Preferred.—One general rule has been found to hold good in these placements, and that is that the children are much happier—and therefore more successful—in simpler homes, nearer their own level, than in homes which are too refined and too remote socially from the children's original environment. A girl placed in a

suburban home with a young couple, possibly college people, where she is to help with the baby and be treated as a member of the family, is not nearly so happy as a girl in a plain country home, where she may have to work twice as hard and have half the advantages, but where she feels at home and takes share and share alike with the family.

In the home of better social and intellectual standards she cannot really become a member of the family unless both she and the family are exceptional. The training may be far more intelligent in the more cultured home, but the personal interest is usually lacking and it is that that decides the girl's happiness and her progress. The position of a girl in these "superior homes" is usually anomalous. She is neither servant nor member of the family. She may be given a better education, but at the end of that time she is no nearer a solution of her social problem. In the simpler home she may have fewer educational chances, but at least she has the satisfaction of knowing that she has as much as the family's own daughter would have. And she has a defined and acceptable position in the family and in the community besides.

It is true that there are very few of these plainer homes available and that there are plenty of the more refined kind, but when one can choose one would usually take the simpler environment, where the demands are less, the tolerance greater, and the sense of equality more marked.

The character of the men of the foster family is an important factor in the placement of an older child. The influence of the man on the boy of twelve or fourteen may be a decisive element in the boy's development. The moral character of the men of the family, when a girl is to be placed there, is obviously of prime importance. It is never safe to take these facts on trust or on one's observation. They should be established by careful and explicit questioning of the references.

The attitude of the family toward the girl whom they propose to take is perhaps the most important element in the placement. Will they take her into the family without making her feel a sense of social difference, will they be patient and understanding with her faults and her difficulties, will they be really interested in seeing her make good?

Or will they think of her as a charity case, as some one who can be useful and who will have to be kept in her place? Their point of view more than anything else will determine the success or failure of the venture.

The amount of work which is expected, the opportunities for making friends and for recreation generally, and the amount of education for which a girl or boy can hope should all be carefully examined.

CHAPTER IV

SUPERVISION

In the novels of a century ago the story ended with the marriage of the hero and heroine. Modern novelists, believing that this is the beginning and not the end of the drama, begin their tales where the older novelists left off. So with supervision. To many people the child's vicissitudes are over when he is placed in his foster home, and he and his foster parents may be expected to live happily ever after. But the experienced social worker knows that those vicissitudes are often just beginning. We admit that all intimate human relationships involve the most delicate yet radical adjustments. Of few relationships is this truer than that of foster parents and child. Some children —and some parents—take to it like ducks to water. Others resist stubbornly. It is with these that supervision must chiefly concern itself.

We might describe supervision as a function demanding vigilance, sympathy with both the family and child, the ability to interpret the one to the other, and a capacity for practical assistance. Often an understanding agent can avert difficulties—often she can explain away existing difficulties. Her services may be only slightly needed for years, but when she is wanted she is apt to be badly wanted.

In the matter of supervision, as in other branches of child placing, few set rules can be made. The frequency of visits, the kind of school reports obtained, interviewing of references—all these vary according to the home and the child in question. A home about which there is question or a child whose development is causing anxiety may be visited every week. A family who have had a child for a number of years and who have always been found satisfactory may be visited only once a year. The visits are made almost invariably without previous warning to the family.

Facts to be Obtained.—The average visit should include inquiry into these matters: changes in the financial situation of the family or in the personnel of the household, in its health or its standard of living; and with regard to the child, into his health, his school work, his recreation, his work outside school hours, his friends, and his opportunities for meeting people, his religious training, his position in the household, where and with whom he sleeps, the condition of his clothing, his habits and training, and, most important of all, his own feeling about his home and the family's feeling for him.

Health.—The child's health is one of the first points on which the visitor should satisfy herself. In the case of a baby she will keep track to some extent of the variations in formulæ and weight. We say to some extent, because the presumption is that the foster mother has put the baby in the care of her doctor and is herself intelligent in such matters. Moreover, these visits to children in free homes, unlike those to babies in boarding homes, are relatively infrequent. The foster mother must be trusted to do the right thing for the baby's health. It is uncommon in the experience of the Association to find carelessness or neglect or even ignorance. The baby's gain is a matter of pride to the whole household. In the case of older children the diet should be considered, the amount of outdoor play which the child gets, whether he sleeps with his windows open, what kind of medicine is given him, whether he is subject to colds, etc. If a child loses time at school from illness, if he looks ill, if he has headaches, it will be wise for the agent to talk with the family doctor, or, in some cases, to arrange to have the child brought to the office for an examination by the office doctor. Families are usually willing to have their doctors consulted and are glad of advice in medical matters. The agent may find it advisable to suggest the name of a child specialist or to help the family with arrangements for an operation, but in general the policy is to leave the responsibility for medical care, as for everything else affecting the child, to the family. Sometimes the Association may force some sort of action upon the family, may insist that the child be taken to a hospital or examined by a specialist, but even in so doing it will put upon the family the responsibility of seeing that this is done. This

policy naturally involves more work and time for the agency than if the agent took the matter entirely into her own hands, but it gives the family experience and a habit of self-reliance which may prove of incalculable value. To educate the family into doing things itself rather than relying upon the society is an important part of supervision.

Child's Appearance.—Neatness and cleanliness are usually significant of the child's general care. It is necessary to most children's standing among other children that they be dressed as well as—and as much as possible like—other children. Often an older girl will herself offer to show the agent her clothes, or the foster mother will take pride in displaying the clothes she has made. In fact the difficulty is often to keep the talk about the child's clothes from swamping the interview. A certain type of foster mother will think her whole duty done by the child when she has fitted her out with hand-embroidered garments. In this kind of family the agent will have to keep her eyes open for the more basic matters of training and ideals. On the other hand, a mother who sends her child to school in shabby or thin or uncouth clothing is neglecting not only the child's health, but the social effect of his appearance. Such a mother is likely to be careless of more significant matters.

Condition of House.—The neatness and cleanliness of the foster home should, of course, be observed. For this purpose the visitor will need to see more of the house than the parlor, into which she will probably be ushered, or the kitchen, in which she will doubtless prefer to sit. The foster mother will probably offer to show her the child's bedroom,—in any case she should see it,—and she can see something of the general condition of the house as she goes through. The cleanliness of the child's bedroom, its furnishings, its heating and ventilation, the comfort of the bed, must all be considered. If the room is shared with some other member of the family, it is essential to know who and what that person is.

Sleeping Arrangements.—The arrangement of the sleeping rooms of older children is of vital importance—not so much from the point of view of order, as of privacy. It is obvious that an older girl should not have a room through which people must pass to get from one

room to another, and yet such arrangements are common. The agent should know exactly who shares a girl's or boy's room, who sleeps nearby, on which side the door locks, whether it is kept locked. If a boy and girl of about the same age are sleeping in adjacent rooms, the arrangement needs the most careful supervision by the foster parents. An arrangement of rooms which leaves the girl alone on the floor with the hired man should not be permitted for an instant. Even little girls should not be allowed to sleep in a room too near that of the son of the house unless the foster parents are watchful. Placing a girl over seven or eight in a home where there is a boy somewhat older, or an adolescent boy in a home with a younger girl, may create a dangerous situation. The boy and girl have not the safeguards of children brought up together, the habit of familiarity, and the awakening of normal sexual curiosity may be overstimulated by propinquity. Moreover, a "charity girl" may be considered fair prey sexually by a man who would behave decently with a girl of his own class. A child who has had premature sexual experience, as some of these children have, is peculiarly liable to the dangers of this sort of proximity. For all these reasons it is imperative that the agency guard against possible disaster by such practical methods as safeguarding the sleeping arrangements, even though it may be necessary to take precautions which to the lay person seem extreme.

Foster parents are often extraordinarily unsuspecting about such matters, and may resent warnings as slurs on the character of their son or daughter. For this reason the suggestion must be tactfully presented. It is not enough to say that if you investigate carefully enough beforehand you can eliminate the homes in which such things can happen. Such possibilities are unforeseeable nine times out of ten. But vigilance on the part of the agent and a warning to the foster mother will often prevent disaster.

In order to get a complete picture of the child's life in his foster home the routine of his day must be known. For instance: when does he get up in the morning? what work does he do before school? how does he spend his evenings? when does he go to bed? Needless to say, it is seldom necessary to ask all these questions directly; the

information usually comes out naturally in the course of talk, and should do so, because there is then a better chance of friendliness between the agent and the family.

Work.—It seems obvious that it is of first importance in supervision to know how much work the child does. In spite of this, some children are overworked. It is not always an easy thing to define—undoubtedly it varies with each child's physical and practical capacity—nor is it always easy to discover. Most foster children are extremely reticent about complaining; they volunteer little information about what work they do, and it is only when the visitor can see the child alone and make him feel that he can trust her that she can discover the facts. It is imperative, therefore, that the visitor make a point of getting the child's confidence in this as in other respects. She must make her questions detailed and concrete. It is not enough to know that a boy of ten carries wood and water; one should know how much wood he carries and how big and heavy the buckets are and what distance he has to go with them. One must know how much of the family ironing a fourteen-year-old girl does. Foster parents may be negligent about making sure that the child is not lifting weights that are too heavy, nor working too long. It is the agent's business to see that this does not happen.

Overwork has another harmful influence on the child—and that is its depressing and deadening effect. The time which he has for play is an important factor in any child's life, and one which some foster parents, brought up in the school of hard work, easily forget. Children must be protected quite as much from the dulling effect of continual work as from the harmful physical results.

Wages.—The amount of wages which should be paid the boy or girl who has finished school and is working at home is a matter which causes frequent friction with foster families. They may argue that they would not expect to pay their own children for their help. Nevertheless, a family who take into their home a boy of twelve or more usually do so for the help which he can give. After he leaves school and begins to work he should be adequately paid for his labor and his wages should be increased as he becomes more capable. It is generally

agreed that the old indenture system of giving a boy a colt or a calf, a Bible, and a hundred dollars when he reaches the age of twenty-one should be replaced by the payment of a regular wage from the time that the boy leaves school and begins to work. Here again the agent must be watchful in helping the boy or girl to secure fair terms from the foster family.

The type of work which the child does and the amount which he is paid vary necessarily with each individual, and also with the local situation. Some children are capable of taking specialized trade or academic or mechanical training; others are capable only of simple routine work under supervision. Wages must vary correspondingly. Moreover, the community in which the child has grown up may offer very limited occupational opportunities; nevertheless, the agency may not wish to have the child leave his foster home for the sake of getting him a better job in a town fifty miles away, even though his capacities may be greater than his opportunities. Wages, again, are affected by current market prices, and cannot be fixed with much uniformity.

The fact that there is no fixed scale of work or wages should not be taken to mean that the agency neglects this important phase of the supervision of older children. It means simply that the agent who is supervising must ascertain the child's ability, his preferences and the local opportunities for work; and that she must come to an agreement with the family and the child as to what work the child shall do and what he shall be paid. In other words, each case will be settled individually.

Recreation.—This is a matter which the agent will sometimes have to take in hand. She will not do so unless the foster parents can't or won't—in any case she will put upon them as much responsibility for it as she possibly can. But sometimes, with her wider knowledge of recreational resources,—gymnasium, Y.W.C.A. or Y.M.C.A., settlement clubs,—she can put the girl or boy in the way of amusements about which the family could not know. She may often be able to enlist the interest of a Camp Fire leader or a Boy Scout master in the child in question, to take him about a little and introduce him

to people who may be helpful. But she will try to make the family take the larger share in this, leaving it to them to make the connections and to keep them, as far as possible. She will find out, in the course of her visit, what the child does with his leisure, where he spends it, who his playmates are, and whether the neighborhood children are friendly to him or whether he is forced to play with the "bad children."

Place in the Community.—The child's part in the life of the community is one of the tests of a successful placement, and the agent will make it her business to find out what that part is. His church attendance and his connection with church activities, which especially in the country form so large a part of the neighborhood life, are important factors. The distance from church, the facilities for getting there, the regularity of attendance should all be included in the agent's inquiries.

Spending Money.—A minor point, but one worth consideration, is the child's allowance. However small the amount may be, the possession of it gives him useful experience and a certain standing among other children.

Education.—In this country of public schools this should not perhaps need the attention that it does. But the variation in standards and in quality of teaching throughout the widely differing schools of city and country makes careful observation necessary. Points to be considered are the distance from school, how the child gets there, whether on foot or by school 'bus, and the regularity of his attendance. The quality of work done in the school should be watched. Occasionally the Association has suggested to the family transferring a child from a small country school to a better school in a nearby town, where they have to pay a tuition fee.

One reason why the agency should follow so closely the school work of its charges is that it may be able to assist promising children to further schooling, either by persuading the parents to provide it, which is decidedly the better course, or by itself helping, either with a money allowance or by putting the child in the way of scholarships or special training schools, when the foster parents cannot assist. One

of the illustrative cases which follows is an instance of the help given to an ambitious girl who wished to continue in school and whose foster mother could not help her. The Association can always put its knowledge of different types of schools—mechanical or trade schools, for instance—at the disposal of the family, and often this kind of advice is as much needed as financial subsidies.

It is sometimes possible for the society to improve the educational standard of the whole community by its insistence that its ward get the right kind of schooling. For instance, this Association was supervising two boys whose foster family went into the wood to a lumber camp every winter. There was no school within reach. The other families were apparently indifferent to the lack of schools for their children. The Association brought the matter to the notice of the Department of Education, and a school was created for all the lumber camp children.

School Reports.—The Association has used a method of school reports for keeping track of the work of the supervised children which has been found generally successful. A letter is written to the family some time before school opens, explaining that the Association wishes to keep in touch with the child's school work, and asking them, if they have no objection, to send the name and address of the teacher. A letter enclosing a report blank is then sent the teacher, saying that the Association is interested in the child in question and would like to be kept informed of his progress. The teacher then sends reports directly to the Association. In many cases, however, the community does not know that the child is a foster child or where he comes from; the foster parents then send copies of the reports to the office. This is usually true of families who took very young children. These reports include, in addition to the formal statement of school work, some information as to the child's looks, his conduct, and his attitude toward his foster parents. This method is valuable not only for this formal statement, but for the opinion which it furnishes, from the point of view of a disinterested outsider, of the child's place in the household and in the community.

Relation Between Parents and Child.—All these facts are the basis

on which the visitor will build up her estimate of the home and of the child's care. But, as in the case of the investigation, this material, absolutely essential as it is, is only half of what a good report should contain. One must have in addition information about the less tangible but equally important factors in the foster child's life: his place in the household; his happiness or unhappiness; his acceptance by the community and his own emotional and mental development. First among these considerations is his relationship to his foster parents.

The question of how far a child has the capacity for satisfying his parents' hopes of him is one that should be settled, if one may say so, before it arises. In other words, the greatest care should be used to choose the right home for him in the first place. This involves knowing both family and child thoroughly. One must think in terms of years in placing children, trying to visualize what will happen when the jolly baby of three or four becomes the strong or weak-willed child of nine or ten.

The strain on both family and child, but especially on the child, of his failure to fulfil expectations, is one of the most disastrous results of a misplacement. The attempts at mutual adaptation between a family with ambitions for educating their child and a child dull at school, between a family with high standards of refinement and a child who develops a coarse-grained temperament, between a quiet and conservative family and a child with a taste for excitement, are full of pitfalls. In such a situation the only thing to do is to watch closely enough to judge whether the child has the capacity for satisfying his parents or whether they have the flexibility to alter their ideals. If it seems improbable that they can meet on common ground, the wisest and kindest thing is to separate them. But only rarely will one do that before every other way has been tried. Often the first six months or a year are the most difficult period. If the family can hold out that long, the child will often round his difficult corner and give little cause for anxiety afterward.

One should consider also how far the foster parents are capable of meeting the child's needs. If there is pronounced incompatibility,

the foster parents can probably not go far, because they will be unable to understand the child. Here the agent can be of service in interpreting the child's difficulties, by explaining how he is still struggling against the sinister influences of his earlier life and is distrustful and worried and in consequence disobedient and unresponsive. This presupposes a thorough knowledge on the agent's part of the child's history. She can sometimes illuminate the present situation by examples of other children who have had the same faults and have come safely through.

Difficult Adjustments.—We have previously discussed the difficulties which may arise in families who have too set a standard of conduct and who expect a child to fit himself to the pattern of life which they have made for themselves. Such difficulties constitute one of the gravest problems of children's work. Many foster parents fail because their prejudices and settled ways of thinking are too inflexible to admit of alteration. They are incapable of believing that a child who steals at ten may prove a worthwhile person ten years later. They never stole when they were young nor did any of their family—or if they did, no one knew it—and therefore a child who steals must be to them always an alien and beyond hope of reformation. Equally difficult are the parents whose hopes have been set on seeing their son head of his class in school. He may prove extremely efficient in practical ways, an attractive personality, but because he can't do arithmetic and write compositions, he can never be a real part of the family. The first investigation of the home should make this clear, so that we will know what we must guard against.

For the first year or so the agent will need to watch closely to judge whether the foster parents are giving the child the sort of training that his character demands. It is true that a woman who is over-indulgent will probably always be so, and that little can be done to brace her up, but suggestion and warning by the agent may help somewhat. Very often it is wise to advise a worried foster mother to let up a little in her discipline; to let the child alone a little more, and to overlook an occasional fault if it be not too flagrant.

Interviews with Foster Fathers.—At this point it may be worth say-

ing that it is quite as important to keep in touch with the foster father as with the foster mother. This is often hard to do, involving perhaps a separate visit to his place of work or an evening visit at the house, but it pays. For one thing, he may prove to have a different view of the situation from that of his wife, and he may be more open to a new conception of it. Or he may have more influence with the child, being a less familiar part of the domestic machinery. Even if he is strictly neutral and is leaving the child's training to his wife, it is worth while to see him, if only to urge him to take a hand in the situation. Any one who has read supervision reports has doubtless been struck by the absence of any statement of interviews with the man of the family. This is certainly not a normal state of affairs, for in most families the father has a considerable part in the training of the children, although the bulk of it is naturally done by the mother. The influence of the foster father is probably quite as much of a determinant as that of the mother, and it is the business of the agent to know of what kind it is.

Foster mothers will often start a discussion of the child while he himself is in the room, and this the agent will certainly wish to check. It is true that occasionally the agent and the mother will wish to talk to the child together about his difficulties. But it should be a general rule to discuss such matters out of the child's hearing. It will dull his susceptibility to discipline to have his faults dealt with in that way, and it will probably make him resentful and suspicious of the agent, so that she will have trouble later in getting him to talk naturally to her and to trust her.

Discipline.—The kind of punishment used by the family is often highly indicative. Does the foster mother threaten punishments which she is unable to carry out, or has she a rational system which metes out an even-handed justice? The type of woman who is always threatening to "take you back to the office if you aren't a good boy" and who never does "take you back to the office" is obviously building up a confused standard of conduct for her child. On the other hand, the type of woman who never overlooks any side-stepping from the path of righteousness and who never forgets to carry out a threat of punishment is creating probably a growth of resentment in her

child which will have its outlet sooner or later. Both mothers need help, and if it is offered wisely and with not too plain a criticism, they will probably accept it.

The policy of sending a child to the office to be disciplined is usually unjustifiable, as it amounts really to an evasion by the foster parents and certainly diminishes the child's respect for their authority. It has the added bad effect of confusing the child as to who is in authority, a confusion only too likely to exist anyway.

Most parents would probably agree that generous praise for his virtues helps a child more than punishment for his faults.

The attitude of other children, particularly in school, often has an excellent effect on a difficult child, and here again the teacher can help, by keeping a special watch on the child and on the behavior of the others toward him. Criticism by his peers is usually more penetrating than the parental criticism, which he, no doubt, often attributes to the "crankiness" of grown-ups. Letting a troublesome child play a good deal with other children, preferably older and bigger than he, is a useful help to training. It is almost always best to discourage the policy of isolation in which so many mothers indulge.

Child's Attitude.—There is another point which should be made in connection with the difficulties that families and children have in adjusting to each other, and that is the state of mind in "adopted" children, which is the result of their broken and disordered life—the feeling of dependency. They feel that they have not been wanted, that they were "given away" by their own parents, and that their remaining in their foster homes is dependent on certain standards which they only dimly understand. This feeling of uncertainty may result with one type of child in an aggressiveness which acts as a cover to his real fear of not making good; in another type, in an anxiety to do the right thing and to please, which is no less difficult to meet. That strained self-consciousness which one sees in so many of these children is no doubt due largely to the latter cause. Undoubtedly the essential cure for their uneasiness or aggressiveness is to reassure them about the stability of their present home, and not to make too many demands on them nor to pay too strict attention to their falls

from grace. To leave these children as free as possible from the consciousness of a critical eye is to help them tremendously to a more normal attitude toward society.

Informing Child That he is Adopted.—One problem of supervision which is much discussed just now is the advisability of telling the children that they are not the family's own children. Obviously, this is a problem which concerns only the children placed as infants. Many foster parents object so seriously to telling their children that it is impossible to insist on it. On the other hand, apparently an increasing number suggest doing so when they make their first application for a child. The policy of this Association is increasingly in favor of informing the children. The age at which the child is told and the manner of telling will have a great deal to do with the way in which the information affects him. It seems likely that many more children than one knows about are already somewhat suspicious, thanks often to the talk of other children, and that they are, therefore, somewhat prepared. The sting is often taken out of the disclosure if the child is young enough to take things for granted and not to be surprised, and if he grows up with the knowledge so that it falls into place in his mind with other facts which he is daily learning. This will usually eliminate the shock with which older children sometimes learn that they are adopted. If the child is kept in ignorance, there are innumerable chances of his learning the truth, which is not likely to be softened by the realization that his foster parents intended that it should be kept from him. If the parents can choose the time and the circumstances for informing the child, they can do it more gently and with a far better control of the situation. The questions which the child asks will have to be answered with as much truth as he can comprehend and can stand. There seems no doubt that this policy, far from alienating the child, as so many people fear, will enhance his confidence in his parents. It will certainly make for that honesty and mutual understanding which should be at the basis of this most personal and delicate relationship.

Adaptability of Family.—In all the difficulties which may arise in the course of settling the child and the family into their common

life, it seems clear from experience that the agent should address herself to the family rather than to the child. If an adjustment must be made, the family should do more than half the work of adaptation. They have the advantage of age—and presumably of understanding—over the child, they have all the incentives to make the experiment a success, and they are not hampered, as the child is, by an unhappy past life. Presumably they are in better control of their emotions and impulses than the child. The child is, moreover, in the disadvantageous position of the newcomer on strange ground. He is usually aware of being on probation; whereas if he is judging the family, no one knows it, as a rule. He is uncertain of his position, afraid of what may happen if he leaves this shelter. All these factors make his conduct problematic and uncontrolled. The family have all the advantages which he lacks. It is surely fair to ask them to bear a double burden of responsibility for the experiment. This point of view, simple as it may seem, is strangely unfamiliar to some foster parents, who consciously—or more often unconsciously—expect the child to make all the adaptations. The agent in such cases should make clear to them the child's side and enlist their patience and their sympathy.

Danger in Stressing "Problems."—There is one danger of which the agent should be aware, and that is the danger of letting the special problem overshadow the situation as a whole. One has read many reports in which the child's particular difficulty—let us say, ill health—has been so much to the fore in the agent's mind that she has seen nothing else; the child's school work, his personality as a whole, his status in the family, have all been overlooked. Not only does this give a wrong picture of the child's life as a whole, but it is likely to mean that the agent's own picture is out of drawing and that she really has forgotten to consider the other ingredients that make up the complex of the child's life. It is essential to see the special problem in its place as a part of the child's past and present experience, and of his personality as a whole; otherwise, the agent may find, after a year's supervision, that she has overlooked any number of important matters in the life of the child and of the household because of her disproportionate emphasis upon his special difficulty.

Need for Flexibility in Supervision.—Most child-placing agencies have no doubt discovered that it is necessary to make exceptions to nearly every rule which they may make regarding the treatment of the child in his foster home. It is obvious that certain regulations which may work successfully with one type of family will be seriously hampering or impossible to carry out with another. For instance, one would insist, in the ordinary household, that a child under six be in bed by seven or half past. But in an Italian family, where the family's own children seldom get to bed before eleven, this cannot be insisted upon. It would simply be ignored. One must adjust oneself to racial customs or to local ways of living. It is undoubtedly bad for children to be given tea and coffee, but every one knows that it is impossible to prevent it in certain kinds of homes. It is a wholesome rule that every child should have a bed to himself, but to people on farms this seems ridiculous, because it is not the local custom, and the agent must be content with finding out with whom the child does sleep and insisting that a young boy should not share a room with a hired man of unknown or doubtful character. Supervision must often seem to resolve itself into a series of compromises. But a makeshift may be better than nothing at all, and it is usually worth while to adjust one's demands to the ability of the family to carry them out. This is not to advocate compromise in every instance; where any moral danger threatens the child, where his health is neglected or his happiness uncertain, compromise is not to be considered. But in matters of less vital significance it is necessary, if the work is to be carried on with any degree of human understanding, to be flexible.

The Family's Responsibility.—There is one principle of supervision which the Association has made a point of maintaining, and that is one which we have already mentioned—giving the chief responsibility to the family. The basic reason for this, in the opinion of the Association, is that it reinforces the tie between parents and child to have all authority and all plans for the child emanate from the parents. It parallels more closely than any other system the normal household and family life. The child is thus not confused by a double authority, which must have for him the added bad effect of singling him out

from other children who have no "Society" interested in them. As an additional reason, there is the attitude of the family to be considered; their sense of possession—a perfectly normal feeling—is certainly increased by the realization that the real responsibility for the child rests in their hands. They are much less likely to fall into an attitude of passivity, looking to the Association to attend to any but the routine matters of the child's life. Feeling that the planning and the action must be theirs for anything affecting the child, they will take the initiative. Undoubtedly, if the life of the placed child is to be as nearly as possible the life of the child living with his own parents, all these principles are essential. The agency will have to lend a hand frequently; the family may need advice about doctors, about schools, about various details of the child's upbringing. It will always be a consulting office and much more. But when the agency does arrange special school plans for the child or suggest a change in the training, it does so through the parents, who are almost always the intermediary between the child and the agency. Usually it will give the family the names of the doctors or hospitals or schools which it recommends, leaving them to make all the plans, rather than itself making the inquiries and the final arrangements. This may be a more difficult thing to do than taking over the arrangements bodily, and it will often take far more time and energy, but it pays in the end if, as a result, the family develop a stronger sense of responsibility and greater resourcefulness. The next time that a crisis arises the family will be better prepared to handle it. And the child will be spared the reminder of his belonging to a "Society" instead of to a father and mother as the other children do.

Unobtrusive Supervision.—Just as the agency will do its work for the child as unobtrusively as possible, so the visitor will do hers. First of all, she should learn not to talk about her work to the casual interested person, except, of course, of its general policy. Any one who has done field work in the country districts is familiar with the high light of curiosity in which the field worker moves. The agent will have to learn how to combine civility with reticence. When she is calling at the school to see the child, she must do it, if possible, in

such a way as to escape the curiosity and comment of the other children. In talking to the references she is, of course, freer, since they were in the secret to begin with, but she will certainly avoid giving them any but the most general and the least identifying facts about the child's circumstances and history. In general she is guided by the principle of saying and doing as little as possible to mark the child out from other children. She must do her utmost to accelerate the process by which the child is absorbed into the life of the household and of the community. She will certainly not emphasize the authority of the Association over the child unless it is absolutely necessary—as may happen.

Perhaps the first consideration of the visiting agent should be to put the foster family at their ease with her. An agent who is already known will naturally be received with less embarrassment than a stranger. During the first visit made after the child is placed there is particularly likely to be awkwardness. General talk, friendly inquiry about family concerns, even discussion of the weather, make an easier entry into the heart of the visit than too abrupt questioning.

Time of Visit.—In Monograph Number 1 the choice of the time of the visit has been fully discussed; the same considerations would apply to some extent to visits of supervision. In some cases the visitor will wish to call when the child will be home from school; in other cases she will prefer to have her talk alone with the foster mother and to see the child alone at school later. But in general the visitor has to make her calls how and when she can, especially on long trips into the country, where the circumstances of her visit are conditioned by infrequent trains and impatient drivers and bad roads. She will naturally prefer not to call when the family wash is at its thickest, but will sometimes wish to be there at meal-time to see what kind of food the child is getting. It is usually bad policy for a visitor accustomed to city hours to forget that country people go to bed early; visits are not made under the happiest conditions when the household is starting to go to bed. This is merely to say, in other words, that the visitor must remember to adapt herself as far as possible to local customs, not only in such details, but in her criticism of the family, remember-

ing that the real test of the home is how it measures up not to her standard, but to the standard of the community.

Attitude of Community Towards Child.—The relation of the child to the community constitutes always a crucial point in supervision. It seems altogether probable that the future of the child-placing system may be determined by its ability to meet this test: does the placed child become an unquestioned—or rather perhaps an accepted —member of the family and of the community? If he does not, if a real difference is made by the community between children in their own homes and children in foster homes, one may say that the system is inadequate. It is a paramount necessity of good child-placing that the child be absorbed into the ordinary life of the community without too much comment. Never should the child be known as "the boy that comes from the charitable society." This is not to say that all children can be accepted with equal ease. Older children whose memories are more developed and who talk at school about their own parents are bound to be the subject of comment. Any child, when he first comes into a household, is sure to cause speculation. But under ordinary circumstances this talk soon dies out and people cease to think of the child as an alien. The tendency to blame any divergence from accepted canons of conduct on the fact that the child is "adopted" is a human trait that one can hardly hope to check. But education and familiarity with the idea of placing out will do much to make the child the object of friendly rather than hostile comment, and one may reasonably hope that friendly comment will in the course of time become no comment at all. Already there seems to be a noticeable tendency to watch the foster child with an approving eye.

Teacher's Assistance.—The supervising agent can do certain things to forward this acceptance of the child by the family and community. She can, for instance, take the teacher somewhat into her confidence and get her help. Most children's workers are doubtless familiar with the fact that teachers sometimes make an invidious difference between their treatment of foster children and other children. In the experience of the Association such a state of things rarely exists. The teachers may be reluctant to increase their work by making up special re-

ports, or they may suspect a too pressing inquiry into their methods, but the antagonistic attitude is fortunately uncommon. In fact, the teachers by and large are generally of real help when they understand the situation, and often take a special interest in helping the foster child. An agent may often, without violating the family's desire for secrecy, explain to the teacher that the child has had a hard life, has been to school irregularly, has had little training of any kind, and is in the midst of adjusting himself to new conditions. The attitude of other children in the school is also of importance. Every one knows the cruelty of which children are capable toward one another; this is particularly true of this situation. The foster child is usually behind his grade, bigger and older than the other children in his class; he is the newcomer, and because of neglect, uncertain of himself and often unattractive. Here the teacher can throw the weight of her approval into the scales and determine whether the balance means happiness or unhappiness to the foster child. She can, without doing it so obviously as to make matters worse, protect the child until his place is established. She may often give him special attention to bring him up to grade.

If the agent has a chance of meeting other members of the family, she can take much the same line with them. She can show the foster parents how the child's earlier life is still haunting him. Only the workers themselves can have any vivid idea of the misery and cruelty in the midst of which so many of these children have lived. It is seldom wise to stress too heavily the concrete facts of this life, as it is sometimes hard for foster parents not to be repelled by them to the extent of carrying over some of their feeling to their attitude toward the child. But this experience can be interpreted in such a way as to clarify their understanding of what the child has to struggle against.

Visiting References.—The original references, who have naturally more interest than the other friends of the family in the success of the experiment, will sometimes be of service. They can often give the foster mother who has had little experience with children encouragement and advice. Foster mothers often say, "I talked to Mrs. Smith about Billy's lying. She says her boy used to lie too, but she trained

him out of it." The agent can sometimes engage the sympathy of one of these references, talking to her much as she did to the teacher, and getting her to use her friendly relations with the foster parents to offer an occasional word of advice. A by-product of this interest of the references is the sympathy which it creates for the child in the community.

The question of seeing references in connection with visiting the child is, however, a moot point. It is sometimes difficult to do this without arousing the resentment of the family, who are almost certain to know of it. When the family have moved into a new neighborhood, where no one knows that the child is not their own, it is certainly unfair, as a rule, to risk an inquiry. There are, however, a few references whom the family are willing to have the agent consult; the teacher, perhaps the clergyman. If a home is at all questionable, an agent will certainly need to confirm her own observation by consulting a reference, either an original or an independent reference.

If the family or the child is dissatisfied, or if there is a doubt in the visitor's mind as to what exactly is the state of things, she should by all means clear up her doubts by consulting references. Often they know facts not easily accessible to the visitor which they are willing to tell and which may be exceedingly valuable.

The teacher as an independent reference can often give valuable information; whether the child gets to school on time, how he is dressed, whether he is tired or fresh in the morning, whether he seems happy, and what the attitude of his parents is toward him.

The agent can often help the older child to find his place by talking with him about things which may jeopardize his standing in the community. For instance, it is often wise to warn a young girl not to talk broadcast about the wretchedness of her own home, but to discuss it only with her foster family or with the agent herself. It is, of course, essential that she should feel free to talk it over with some one who can interpret it for her and who can help her in her process of emergence from it. But if she discusses it at school, it is sure to result in a degree of social ostracism—and nothing could be worse for the adolescent girl or boy in this situation. Of course, nothing helps to

erase these early memories so much as the sense of being well settled in a congenial foster home.

Relation Between Agent and Family.—Good understanding between the agent and the families whom she visits is obviously of first importance. That they should like and respect each other is an important part of their relationship, and one for which the agent will work constantly. A sense of mutual confidence and interest will have its beneficial influence on the family situation.

There are, however, a few foster families with whom a friendly attitude on the part of the visitor is hard to maintain; families who are suspicious, resentful of the agent's authority over their child, who are antagonized by what they consider the society's interference in their domestic affairs, or families who are bent on carrying out a policy of training which the agent cannot but consider harmful for the child.

There are various ways of dealing with this situation; one is to find out in the course of your original investigation whether the family are likely to take that tone. For instance, the agent should discuss at that time the regular supervision maintained, the joint control exercised by family and agency, and she should find out from references whether the family have the reputation of being hard to deal with. It should, however, be remembered that this antagonism may be the reverse side of a quality of genuine value, their championship of the child. While such an attitude carried to an extreme is dangerous, the basis of it is sound. The protection insured by it for the child is not to be lightly ignored or disapproved. By tact and patience, by good humor and self-restraint, an agent can do much to win the family's friendliness. She can usually convince them finally that she comes not to find fault, but to help. By letting them talk themselves out on their grievances she can make them feel that their complaints are not being slighted. Much depends on her attitude. If it is one of disapproval, she will plainly never make headway. But if she can be open-minded and patient and slow to take offense, she can go far toward building up friendliness between the family and the organization. There are ways and ways of offering criticism. If it is done with open disapproval, it will certainly be resented. But if it is done

casually, it is likely to be accepted. Instead of saying, for instance, "It is wrong to feed a young child on pie—it will make him sick," she may say, "Did you ever try him with cereals or well-cooked vegetables? I know a good many families who do that and the children seem to gain on them."

Relation Between Agent and Child.—No less important than the family's feeling toward the society is the child's feeling. It is essential, whenever possible, to talk with him alone. This may be only a ten-minute talk at the home under awkward conditions, or it may be a long walk home from school with him. In either case it should be made to count for something. It is the only chance of contact that the child has with the organization, which he sometimes thinks of as a remote and formidable entity which interferes with him and may be used as a "big stick" against him—"If you aren't good I'll write to the office about you." To erase this impression and to give him instead a sense of confidence and friendliness is an important part of the visitor's duty.

The system of having one agent in charge of a group of children whom she visits regularly gets the best results because, after a few visits, the children lose their shyness and come to feel that the agent is really interested in them.[1] This continuity is particularly valuable with the children who are unsettled, who have not yet recovered from the shock of leaving their own homes, nor settled into their foster homes. An agent who can win the friendliness and trust of such a child can help him tremendously to a sense of security and continuity. This achievement is well worth a sacrifice of convenience and economy. At the same time we must admit that in the past we have sometimes found continuity of supervision difficult to maintain. For instance, when a child is transferred from one locality to another perhaps hundreds of miles away, the agent who has been looking after the child cannot make the journey out of her district to see him. The time and expense involved in covering a large area to visit perhaps only two or

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[1] It is generally agreed that the older boys should be supervised by a man whenever possible.

three children make the arrangement prohibitive. Moreover, the fact that there is bound to be a change of visitors, through promotion or transfer to other organizations, increases the impracticability of the arrangement. Within practical limits, however, the system by which one agent establishes and maintains friendly relations with her group of children should be used to its utmost capacity. We should unquestionably make every legitimate sacrifice to achieve it.

There are two great barriers to the feeling of friendliness between the child and the society. One is the resentment of most older children at having been removed from their own parents. This resentment is not mitigated by the child's realization that the breakup of his home was inevitable. As has been said before, no child is removed from his own home except as a last resort. To pass this barrier of suspicion and resentment takes time and tact. The agent will have to explain somewhat why the child could not remain in his own home and will have to appeal to his desire to make good, urging him to "try it for a while." She should never say too absolutely, "You can never go back to your own home." The second barrier to friendliness is the antagonism so often found in older children to the idea of being under the authority of a "charitable society"—a natural antagonism. Here again the agent's handling of the situation will determine often the child's future attitude.

Scolding the child, even when the parents request it, is usually a mistake. The agent should talk over the child's difficulties with him, but should do it to find out why he is naughty and not merely to blame him for being naughty. He should be encouraged to present his side of the case, though this is usually difficult for him to do because he is too young to analyze it. But there are so many possible reasons why a child with his background is naughty that one should give him every incentive to talk if one is to understand his problems. A frontal attack on his conduct—which he usually does not understand himself—will only make him sullen and confused. Many concessions in discipline may have to be made to build up in the child a willingness to talk and a sense of confidence in the agent, but they are well worth making.

The visitor should avoid one pitfall when she is talking alone with the children. That is to avoid saying things that can be repeated in a garbled form later to the foster parents. Many misunderstandings between family and society have been caused by the visitor's saying to the child, "If you aren't happy here let us know and we will see what we can do." The version which reaches the family is usually, "The lady said I was to write her and she'd come and take me away if I didn't like it here," a version which naturally irritates them and causes bad feeling.

Provision for Child's Future.—One aspect of the foster home system which is receiving a good deal of attention now is the question of what provision the foster parents are making for the child's future. This means, of course, not only financial provision, but the means of self-support. The work of supervision is left at loose ends if the child is adopted legally or passes from the care of the society without knowledge on the part of the society as to this provision. What the child may expect from his parents is a question that should be discussed to some extent at the time that the child is legally adopted. Many foster parents volunteer this information, and in general parents are glad to talk over with the visitor their plans for the child's future, whether it be what share he will have of their property or what trade he will learn for self-support. The society will certainly wish to round out its period of supervision by assuring itself that the parents have thought this out and can be counted on to do the fair and wise thing by the child.

The Adoption Visit.—The visit made when the family ask permission to adopt the child legally should be made with the utmost thoroughness. No agency will wish to relinquish its guardianship of the child without having assured itself that adoption will safeguard the child and insure him the best possible future. A year's trial is probably the minimum time in which the agency can satisfy itself that the child should stay permanently in his foster home. With numerous homes it is wiser to wait an additional year or even several years. There will always be a certain proportion of families who ought never to be allowed to adopt their children. Such homes should probably

not have been used in the first place, although the difficulty may have arisen since, perhaps through financial reverses, perhaps through the unpromising development of the child, which makes it essential that the agency stand by to be of service, or through some unforeseen trouble with the foster parents. It is just these doubtful families which are most insistent on adoption, partly to get rid of supervision and partly because they realize that their hold on the children may be jeopardized by the refusal of adoption.

In making the adoption visit the agent will to some extent reinvestigate the home. At first sight this may seem superfluous, if the agent has been observant and has visited the home often enough. But on nearer view we see new factors, which differentiate the usual investigation from the adoption visit. Most significant is the fact that with this visit, if adoption is approved, will terminate the agency's care of the child. Are we sure that we have all the necessary guarantees for the child's future?

Changes in Household.—During the year or more which has elapsed since the child was placed important changes may have taken place in the household. The financial situation may have altered—in any case, the added expense of the child's care must be considered; the membership of the household may have changed, and there is the essential question—how has the entrance of the child into the family affected the household life? All these factors must be considered from an angle different from that of the original investigation.

Facts like these can be ascertained to a large extent by the agent's observation, but should be corroborated by references. The agent should see one or two of the original references, preferably those who have kept in closest touch with the family, and, if there is no objection on the score of secrecy, an independent reference occasionally. We are no longer considering, when we make an adoption visit, a hypothetical case—how will the placement of a child in this home work out?—but an actual experience, to be reviewed without prejudice and with all the facts in hand. The agent should ask herself; "Will the child be better off wholly in the care of his foster parents or will he perhaps need also the help that the agency can give? Will he gain

more by being accepted without question as the child of his foster parents than he would gain from the assistance which the agency could give if it were still supervising him?" Most workers would probably agree that, granted a reasonably good and safe home, the child would gain much more by being closely identified with his foster parents. His place in the community is more clearly defined; if he is old enough to realize his situation, he feels himself more secure and he is drawn more deeply into the current of neighborhood life.

Adoption of Children of Bad History.—This constitutes a problem by itself. In many cases a special agreement has been signed by the family, but often they may press the adoption in spite of that, possibly because, after having the child for some time, the thought of giving him up becomes a more formidable possibility than when they were merely considering taking him; possibly because his development seems to be so entirely normal that they are encouraged to feel that there is less risk than they anticipated. It may seem wisest to permit adoption if the family is thoroughly conversant with the facts of the child's history and intelligent enough to be trusted to do the right thing in case the child should, after all, develop abnormally. Very often little is gained by holding out against a strong desire on the part of the family; their friendliness and frankness may be jeopardized by it. Often too the child himself begs to be adopted, realizing how it will strengthen his position in the family which he has come to regard as his own. In cases, however, where the family is ignorant and lacking in resources to deal with possible difficulties, it will probably seem dangerous for the agency to relinquish its supervision and its claim on the child.

The agency may often feel it unwise to permit adoption of such children until they are old enough to show definite normality or abnormality. In such cases it may ask the family, when they first take the child, to sign a special agreement stating that they agree to postpone adoption until that time, and promising, in case the child develops characteristics which make him dangerous to the community, to return him to the care of the Association. If the family seem to understand the situation and to be willing to deal frankly with the

agency and still wish to take the child after they know all the facts, it seems fair to let them do so. It often means giving the child his only chance for normal family life outside the institution. Close supervision should, of course, be maintained in such cases.

Advisability of Adoption.—In general this agency considers adoption advisable, provided, of course, that there has been plenty of time for observation of the placement and that this observation has been adequate. The suggestion of adoption is rarely made by the agency, although it is discussed during the first investigation. That it often matters intensely to the child is beyond a doubt, and this certainly should have its effect on our decision. There are numerous cases of children who have begged to be adopted, so that at last they might feel secure. Its reassuring effect upon the child is one of the strongest arguments in its favor.

Supervision Records

A Simple Supervision Case.

Placement.—September 20, '17. In the home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Gould, —— Street, ——. Mr. and Mrs. Gould went to-day to the boarding home of Mrs. Smith to see the baby. They were very much attracted to him, and Mr. Gould telephoned to ask if permission would be given to ake the baby to their home to-day. It was explained that we would prefer to have them wait till the child was in better physical condition, but as they were very eager to take the baby, fully understanding that he was not quite up to the mark physically, it was agreed that they might take him.

Letter.—September 25, '17. Mr. Gould sends a report of his doctor's examination of the baby and says that they have every reason to believe that the boy will progress rapidly with careful attention.

Letter.—October 22, '17. Letter from Mrs. Gould: 'Just a word letting you know that my baby is getting along lovely. He is the grandest baby and we love him very dearly. . . . He is certainly bringing lots of happiness into our home. . . . My doctor says he is a perfect baby. . . . I would love to have the nurse see him now that went to see him the day before we took him."

Visit.—December 20, '17. The Gould s house is very pleasantly situated and nicely furnished and flooded with sunshine. The baby has a room to himself which has every comfort, and he takes his nap on a large sun piazza. The Goulds are nice-looking young people. They are both apparently in good health, and are intelligent, pleasant, home-loving people. Mrs. Gould is a calm, even-tempered woman, affectionate, and fond of children, and she and her husband seem very congenial and to be getting a great deal of pleasure from the baby, whom they call Edward. He is a rather pretty, fair-skinned child. He seems bright and has a

good disposition. He was very daintily dressed and showed the best of care. One would think he was the Goulds' own baby from the preparations that they made for him and the gifts he received from relatives. He has a beautiful baby basket, filled out with every conceivable thing, and a great many pretty hand-made dresses. He has been under the care of Dr. King, the child specialist of ——, whom agent knows. Mr. and Mrs. Gould are looking forward to adopting the baby as soon as permission can be given. Agent talked with Dr. King, who has had the care of the baby, and he says he thinks Edward is a fine bright child and that the Goulds are just the right people to bring up a family of children.

Visit.—April 16, '18. Mrs. Gould and the baby were seen. Edward, as the baby is called, is developing splendidly. He is up to the standard, according to Dr. Holt. Mrs. Gould feels very much pleased, because he was such a tiny thin baby when they took him. He has cut two teeth and is strong and active; is a fine-looking child. Mrs. Gould has trained him very carefully and so he is not much trouble. The baby is already beginning to talk. He says several words which he seems to know the meaning of.

Note.—September 14, '18. Mr. Gould telephoned today to say that he and his wife are very eager to adopt the baby legally.

Adoption Visit.—October 13, '18. By another agent. Agent was invited in to sit in the nursery. It was furnished with a few wicker chairs, and many little toys of the baby were on the floor. Mr. and Mrs. Jones, parents of Mrs. Gould, were enjoying this spot with Mr. and Mrs. Gould and the baby. Mr. and Mrs. Jones are healthy-looking, pleasant people, somewhat beyond middle age, with a well-provided-for air. While magazines and papers were at hand, the baby was really the center of attraction. As the baby played at Mrs. Gould's feet she watched him and talked of him with an adoring look. Mr. Gould stood in the doorway, his hands in his pockets and his eyes centered on the baby. He and Mrs. Gould both took pride in telling how the baby had improved. The baby is well developed for his fifteen months. He was taking steps with balance and assurance and was saying words. Mr. and Mrs. Gould are proud of the fact that he says "Papa and Mamma" and can repeat other words when told to. Mrs. Gould talked of his diet, and there is no question but that she has been successful in feeding and training him, according to Dr. Holt. They are anxious to complete the steps for legal adoption. Agent had a conversation alone with Mr. and Mrs. Gould, asking a few more questions regarding finances, etc. Mr. Gould said that financially he was much better fixed than when he had taken the child. His salary has been increased practically $600 during the present year. His present yearly salary is nearly $3000. He owns his house, valued at $7000. There is a 50 per cent. mortgage on this, however, which he will no doubt be able to pay off in a reasonable time. Mr. Gould feels that there is no question about his being able to send the boy through school and college. He said, "We would not give this youngster up for anything." Mrs. Gould said, "I always knew from the first that I would never give him up and that it would make no difference whatever he might develop later, that I would always love him. He might turn out a cripple or possibly defective in some way, but I would love him just the same." Agent sat with Mrs. Gould in the dining-room while she fed the baby. He ate his food with relish, and as he sat there by Mrs. Gould there could be no question that there was a perfect relationship of child and mother here. This child even looks a good deal like Mrs. Gould, which pleases her. Mrs. Gould is a pretty,

healthy-looking woman, with a genuine, direct way of meeting people, and impressed agent as having a most genuine and motherly love for the baby.

Reference.—Mrs. Arthur Shendon, —— Street, ——. Mrs. Shendon is a straightforward, sensible little woman. She began, "I wish all your children could get as fine a home as Mr. and Mrs. Gould have given this baby." She smiled when she described how crazy Mr. and Mrs. Gould were about him. She told how Mrs. Gould hurried home before six in the afternoon because the baby must have his supper and be put to bed by that hour. The Goulds could not possibly love their own baby more than they do this child. They have gone to any expense in caring for him. He was puny and little when they first got him, but they had him under a specialist's care, and have given him oil baths. Now he is a fine-looking specimen. Mrs. Shendon said that she was very fond of Mr. and Mrs. Gould; that they often came to supper in her house, sometimes twice a week. She felt that she knew them well; in fact, she had always known Mr. Gould. She considers them both fine, honest young people. Financially there is no question but that they are well fixed. She said, "I don't suppose Mr. Gould ever owed a penny in his life." They are not religious fanatics, but they are good, straightforward people. Mrs. Shendon impressed agent as interested in the child first and in seeing him get the right home.

Note.—October 29, '18. Adoption approved. Family notified.

Letter.—March 16, '19. Mr. Gould writes that the adoption was completed December 19, 1918. The boy is doing finely and he and his wife are very much pleased with him.

Second Case

Philip Tucker was four when he was placed with Mr. and Mrs. Albert Morgan in a remote country home. He came of a notorious family, and was backward in his speech, very babyish, and small for his age.

Placement.—By M. M.—December 12, '16. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan met agent at the train. Agent was well impressed by both of them. They had little to say about Philip, but agent thinks that they were disappointed in him. Mrs. Morgan merely said he was small for his age, and that he looked delicate. She has not had very much experience with small children, but she does not feel at all helpless. She was surprised when agent told her not to give Philip pork. They seemed to think that they would like to take a little girl very soon if they get on all right with Philip. Mr. Morgan was disappointed because Philip seemed ready to cry but agent told him that Philip was very tired and shy and that she would be surprised if he did not cry.

Visit.—By M. M.—May 25, '17. This seems to be a satisfactory placement. Agent got a favorable impression of the Morgans. They seem like genuine people, quiet and refined. The house, though somewhat torn up on account of house cleaning, showed many dainty touches. The Morgans soon became attached to Philip, and they say now that they do not believe that any child would be more satisfactory. They consider him bright and affectionate. Their relatives have accepted Philip as a member of the family, and are very fond of him. Philip has improved in appearance. He has good color, his eyes are bright, and he is full of life and apparently happy. He was dressed in overalls and was clean. Mrs. Morgan has made some pretty suits for him, but she says Mr.

Morgan likes to see him in overalls. Philip remembered agent, and for a few minutes he was very solemn and was evidently thinking of his former home. Agent wondered whether he would want to return with her, but it apparently never occurred to him. He seems to feel perfectly at home. He seems to take an interest in the farm and wanted to take the agent out to see the young chickens. Philip knows all his letters, which he has learned from his blocks, and did not make a single mistake. He can count a little and spell a few words. The Morgans think that he has an unusually active mind.

Visit.—By M. B.—June 26, '18. Mrs. Morgan was apologetic over having agent find her in her work clothes and Philip in his little soiled overalls. Agent did not think she needed to apologize, for although she was in her work clothes she was neat and clean, and so was the house. She left Philip to entertain the visitor while she went to change her dress. Agent found Philip very entertaining, as he can read practically all of his little reading book, spells quite a number of words, and talks and explains the working of his toy ship and other things in a remarkably intelligent way. He has not started to school yet, but has been taught carefully by Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, who are proud of his attainments and consider him very bright. He was friendly with visitor, and brought out his reading book and toys without any urging. He is an attractive little fellow, with dark hair and tanned skin and bright brown eyes. Mr. Morgan came in from his field work while agent was there, and impressed agent as an unusually intelligent and thoughtful man. He is rather good looking, with more the appearance and manners of a college man than an ordinary farmer. He seemed more at ease with visitor than Mrs. Morgan, although both were cordial. They both are fond of Philip, and wish to adopt him. Agent received a most favorable impression of Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, their home, and their treatment of Philip. He is undoubtedly happy with them, and has become a large part of their life.

(Shortly after this visit Philip's sister, Helen, was placed in this home. Helen was seven at the time.)

Visit.—By M. B.—November 27, '18. The home of Mr. and Mrs. Morgan is an excellent farm home, where both Philip and Helen are receiving great kindness and the best of attention. They are treated as own children by Mr. and Mrs. Morgan. Philip is a bright-faced little youngster, with bright brown eyes, pink cheeks, good teeth, and a pleasant, friendly manner. He is healthy looking. He talked freely with the agent, and expressed himself well. He is in the first grade in school, and will perhaps go into the second soon. He moves along rapidly at school, no doubt because of the close supervision given his work at home. Mrs. Morgan attributes the habits and disposition of the two children to a large extent to circumstances, and not to native endowment. She thinks that she has eliminated some of the traits in Philip which now appear in Helen. She hopes to correct these in Helen, but, of course, will find it harder, as she is taking hold much later. These two children seem to be perfectly at home together, and will no doubt be a good influence on each other. Philip shows, both in his disposition and habits and mental level, careful training and a good home.

Visit.—By A. C. H.—January 23, '19. Mrs. Morgan was in the kitchen baking, and although she was surprised to see agent, she was natural and not at all ill at ease. Mr. Morgan went to the school and brought the children up in the car, telling them that their mother had a guest for dinner. It is their usual custom to have their lunch at school. The house was in good order. The kitchen was spick

and span, although Mrs. Morgan was working there. The *American Magazine* was lying on the table in the living-room, and although it is a plain home, with very simple furnishings, it had an exceedingly home-like appearance. The children dashed in from school, full of life, and looking rosy and healthy. Helen hasn't, however, nearly the color that Philip has, although she looks much better than when she came. The children went straight to their rooms, hanging up their coats and hats after they had been introduced to the agent, and then sat down in little rocking-chairs like grown-ups with their company manners on. Mrs. Morgan suggested that they show the agent the things they had for Christmas, and they were full of enthusiasm. They had no end of little trinkets from various relatives. Even aunts of Mr. and Mrs. Morgan in Georgia had sent the children things, one sending two dollars to each. Helen said Santa Claus had never been so good to her before. Helen wore a light blue wash dress, which was very becoming. Mrs. Morgan says she is a dirty little child with her clothes, and should have a clean frock every day, but it makes so much laundry that she has a clean one only every other day. The little boy is attractive looking, seems unusually observing, and possibly brighter than Helen. He had always remembered his little sister and often spoke of her. They soon became fast friends, and now they are inseparable. The little room off the living room is used as a play room. There is an old couch in it, and all the children's toys. They have to keep the room in order. Every night before they go to bed either Mr. or Mrs. Morgan reads to the children. Usually Mr. Morgan does the reading while Mrs. Morgan sews. Philip has a protective manner toward his sister and always defends her. He will never tell on her, but she is not the same with him. She is not as selfish as when she first came. She demanded waiting on entirely. She would not even get a drink of water for herself and made a little slave of Philip. Mrs. Morgan thought that it was bad for Helen and stopped it. They play so much on their way back and forth from school that occasionally they are late. They seem very congenial, and while they fight like brothers and sisters, they soon make it up. The children played about the room naturally and then we all had dinner together. They have nice table manners, and Mrs. Morgan seems to train them as easily as if she had always had them.

In speaking of the adoption, agent asked Mrs. Morgan if she really was as fond of Helen as she was of Philip, and she thought a minute and said, "Why, yes; Helen is more affectionate than Philip, but somehow we don't think of them separately, and I don't believe we are fonder of one than of the other now." They would like to adopt them both as soon as possible. Mr. Morgan sat by the fire and watched the children as they played about and made occasional interested suggestions. He is a very wholesome, straightforward young man, and will give the children every advantage within his means. He says he did not have a college education, but he will give the children as much education as they can take. They have a number of friends and relatives in the vicinity, as they have always lived here. They go about a good deal, as they have their own car, often going to the movies. While they are thrifty, they are by no means so hardworking that they do not enjoy a good time. Mrs. Morgan impressed agent as an exceptionally fine woman, refined in her appearance, and the type of woman who would be a splendid mother. She is not excitable nor easily disturbed. She has studied the children, and realizes that she must keep on studying them in order to discipline them properly. She never nags nor scolds them, but seems to have perfect disci-

pline over them; so does Mr. Morgan. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan seem to be unusually congenial. They like the same sort of things, and each defers to the other's judgment in an exceedingly courteous and thoughtful way. Mrs. Morgan is very well and strong, and does her housework easily, helps outside with the milk, and does her own sewing and that of the children. She says two children are not much more trouble than one, because they are such company for each other. She does not know how Philip would ever get on without Helen. He tags her around in the most adoring fashion. Twice while the family were sitting there Helen went up to her mother and laid her head on her shoulder in a very sweet and affectionate way. She certainly is as happy and contented in her manner as any child could be.

Everything about the whole situation seemed absolutely natural. It was hard to realize that the children had not been there always. There is something about the atmosphere of the home that is difficult to describe. One is impressed with the substantial qualities, the genuineness, the wholesomeness. It is not a home one would ever associate with wrangling or pettiness. Agent referred to the satisfaction of seeing the children playing there together, and Mr. Morgan said, "Yes, but that doesn't mean anything to them now such as it will in fifteen years from now, when they realize that they really are own brother and sister." They look forward to the future of the children in a very intelligent way, and agent feels that in this home the children will have a very good start in life.

Note.—June 19, '19. Good school report.

Visit.—June 29, '19. Satisfactory visit by another agent.

Adoption Visit.—By M. E. B., March 30, '20. The family were all at home and cordial in their greeting. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan had just come in from milking. Mrs. Morgan's hair was down in a braid; she was neatly dressed in a wash dress. The children appeared very well. Philip, however, did look queer, as his head was practically shaved three-fourths of the way to the top, and there was a good crop of hair on top. He was much interested in showing agent a toy tractor. His father said he was greatly interested in mechanical things. He is in the second grade of the local school. It is over a mile away. In the worst weather Mr. Morgan takes the children, and in winter they coast and pull each other up hill. Both of these children seem to love the out-of-doors and the animals on the farm and are wholesome, happy children. Philip was neatly dressed, but his shoes were in bad condition. However, agent imagines that he has better ones and is hard on his every-day ones. When the agent left, the children with their dinner pails were starting to school. Miss Wood, the teacher, said that the children were bright and happy. The school closes April 1 and both will be promoted. Although this was just a tiny district school, the work exhibited on the wall showed that the teacher was well trained. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan are wholesome, progressive people. They are comfortably situated, and are gradually making improvements on the farm. They have a furnace, and hope to have a bath-room soon. Mr. Morgan's father helps him in the summer, and he has a great deal of machinery, so he is able to get on without hired help. Both Mr. and Mrs. Morgan spoke of wishing to adopt the children as soon as possible. The children play nicely together, occasionally have little quarrels, but soon get over them. Agent could see no reason why this adoption should not go through as this is above the average farm home. Agent saw George Henry, a feed man in ——. He said Mr. Morgan was one of the best farmers they had in the country

excellent pay, and industrious. He keeps a car and has a good time in it. Both Mr. and Mrs. Morgan are from good families, and he said he could recommend the home for as many children as they would take. Agent also called to see Mr. William Perry, an original reference, but he was out of town.

Note.—April 6, '20. Adoption approved; family notified.

Third Case

The case of Martha Dean illustrates the help given to an older girl through her school days, and the type of supervision necessary.

Martha was fourteen when she was placed with a widow, Mrs. Wilton. Her mother was incurably insane, and her father, an irresponsible, worthless man, had served a number of terms in jail. He had never supported his family adequately, and his wife's insanity was due in part to his abuse. Martha had been two years in an institution, and little was known of her personality before she was placed. Mrs. Wilton kept a few lodgers, all women, and Martha was to help somewhat with the housework. Mrs. Wilton's income was derived partly from the lodgers and partly from securities. It was not large, but at that time, in 1910, was considered adequate for two people.

The first visits showed a satisfactory situation. There was a good understanding and considerable affection between Martha and Mrs. Wilton. Martha was doing good school work, and was given plenty of time at home for her studying. She was a good deal of help to Mrs. Wilton when the latter was ill. Both Martha and Mrs. Wilton seemed satisfied with the arrangement. In January, 1913, Mrs. Wilton became seriously crippled with rheumatism and had to have a woman come in every day to do the work, as Martha's school work took most of her time and strength. . . . Mrs. Wilton hopes that it will be possible to have Martha go to High School, as she is doing so well in her work, but she is short of ready money at present. Mrs. Wilton evidently tries to have Martha have nice clothes, and is really anxious to do everything she can for the girl. Visitor thinks Martha is fortunate to be so near a good school, and she does not seem to lack for anything. Mrs. Wilton still feels, however, that she will have to have a little help if she is to send Martha to High School, as she has to pay a woman to come in every day and do the work that Martha could easily help in doing if she did not have to spend so much time on her lessons. If this help could be given, visitor thinks it would be a good idea, as there is no doubt that Mrs. Wilton does everything she can for Martha. The schools are excellent and have good standing, and if Martha could stay where she is and attend High School, it would be very satisfactory, as Martha is company for Mrs. Wilton and seems much attached to her.

Visit.—By L. M. G.—Oct. 14, '13. Visitor found Mrs. Wilton much better than she has been for some time. She had had a hired girl up to the previous week, but was trying now to get along without one. Martha is so capable and anxious to do everything she can that Mrs. Wilton thinks that they are going to manage nicely. Martha is much more considerate and thoughtful than she used to be, and seems to appreciate everything that Mrs. Wilton tries to do for her. Martha is in the eighth grade now, and will finish her grade work in January, but it will not be possible to send her to High School unless she receives some help —about three dollars a week—as her expenses will be greater than they are at

the present time. Visitor saw Martha at school. She was nicely dressed and is an unusually nice-looking girl, capable and self-reliant. Martha looks happy, and visitor thinks it would be a splendid thing if an effort were made to raise the money so that she could go to High School.

Note.—Jan. 28, '14. The Association succeeded in raising money to pay Mrs. Wilton an allowance for Martha; three dollars a week for over three years and five dollars a week for nearly one year.

Visit.—By L. M. G.—Feb. 5, '15. Mrs. Wilton reported that Martha had been suffering from severe headaches.

Arrangements were made for an examination by an oculist, which was followed by a second examination a week or two later. As Mrs. Wilton was unable to pay the fee and carfare, the Association paid the bill. Martha was supplied with glasses.

Visit.—By L. M. G.—Apr. 4, '16. Martha is feeling much better. There is a girl boarding with them who is in the first year High School. Her name is Gertrude, and she is a daughter of a friend of Mrs. Wilton's and a shy, sweet-appearing girl. Mrs. Wilton feels that she is a splendid influence for Martha. The girls seem to enjoy each other's company, and Mrs. Wilton said that all they had to do was to help with the dishes in the evening. The girls enjoy seeing how quickly they can get the work finished up so as to have the evening free. Mrs. Wilton and Martha seem to understand each other perfectly, and Martha appears happy. Visitor thinks that conditions have much improved with a young girl in the house. Martha is not so lonely and Mrs. Wilton seems to enjoy having the two girls there.

During the following summer Martha earned a small amount of money by berry picking and was able to buy or make many of her clothes for the following winter. In the following autumn Martha entered the teacher's training class at Sheffield, to continue her studies and to practice teaching. She made the plans and arrangements herself. Martha wrote often to the Association, to acknowledge her allowance and to report on her school progress.

Visit.—By C. E.—Oct. 30, '17. Visitor had a visit of an hour and a half with Martha, which was very satisfactory. Martha is in a good boarding house with a comfortable room, electric light, etc., and the people who keep it are pleasant, old-fashioned people. Martha's room is quite large, has two windows and a comfortable-looking double bed, pretty wall paper, and two or three chairs and a table besides her bureau. Martha takes care of the room and frequently asks to be allowed to help with the dishes, as she misses the housework she did at home. She reads and crochets. She has just decided to give up candy for a time and to take a definite amount of exercise every day. She also sleeps with one window wide open. She has more color than when agent saw her before, and seems broader in the chest and shoulders. She thoroughly enjoys her school work. There are nine girls in the training class with one teacher, who Martha thinks is well equipped and thorough. The teacher told Martha not to worry over her work, so Martha concluded that it must be satisfactory. The studies include pedagogy, psychology, history, English, spelling, arithmetic, and writing. Martha attends the Methodist Church and sometimes the church socials. She is most anxious that Mrs. Wilton be paid what she advanced her last summer, as she is a little short at the present time. Martha needs a dollar a week for incidentals. She says that her headaches have practically stopped. She misses Mrs. Wilton very much. Visitor discovered that Martha is interested in Mrs. Wilton's

nephew, a young man who works in a factory in ——. She says she does not want to think of getting married until she has taught three or four years. She says Mrs. Wilton does not discuss the matter, as she does not want to encourage either of the young people. Martha is a sensible, earnest, worth-while girl, deeply appreciative of all that the S. C. A. A. has done for her, but with quite a bit of pride, and she is very anxious to be self-supporting. The following is a list of the clothes needed by Martha. —— Martha did not take it for granted that she would get any of these things, and visitor had to drag each item out of her. Visitor feels that she is so worth-while that it is certainly worth an effort to get as many of these things as possible for her in order that she may continue her work without being under the strain of being insufficiently equipped.

Note.—Mar. 28, '18. Materials sent to Martha for her commencement dress.

Letter.—June 13, '18. Letter from Martha acknowledging the money sent her. She has a school near Sheffield for the fall. She will have about twelve pupils, and every one says it is a desirable school. She will receive $13.50 a week, and will pay $4.00 for board. Again she expresses appreciation for all the kindness shown her. Martha says she will remember us all as a bright spot in her life and will be glad to see any of us at any time.

Letter.—April 1, '19. Letter from Martha in which she incloses an invitation to her wedding April 16th to John Hamilton. Martha says she is getting a very good man. He is a good member of the Baptist Church, and a foreman in the Daly Furniture Company. He has the house where they are to live partly furnished, and the rest they will furnish as they can. He is making everything easy for her, and she expects to be very happy. She hopes to remain friends with the S. C. A. A. and appreciates all that they have done for her.

This case illustrates several features of the supervision of older girls which are worth pointing out. For one thing it shows the value of continued supervision, even in a home where, for the first few years, it may seem unnecessary. Here the Association did little more than observe this placement for three or four years. At the end of that time and from then on substantial assistance was needed to keep Martha in school. In some homes it is not possible to make such an arrangement, even by subsidies, because the girl's help is needed at home. In such situations the agency must sometimes choose between depriving a promising child of further education or practically breaking up the household. The choice will usually be keeping the girl at home, where affection for her family and a sense of her share in the family burdens would naturally keep her if she were the family's own child. The question to ask oneself in making such a decision is, what will be more important to this girl ten years from now, further education or a close family tie? The answer naturally differs with the dif-

ferent situations and the temperaments involved. Needless to say, the agency will do everything possible to avert a situation in which such a choice is necessary.

Value of Prolonged Supervision.—Unforeseen misfortunes happen in foster families, as in all families, and it is just at these crises that the agency can be of help, and it is because of this possible need that it should keep closely in touch, even with the best of foster homes. The agency may find that it has to provide money to keep a child in school, or for medical care of the child. If the home has proved a good home for the child in question, has met his needs and made him happy, undoubtedly the agency will wish to help to keep the two together. If, however, the home has been unsatisfactory, it is certainly not worth while to put money into subsidizing it.

Termination of Supervision.—A word should be said about the termination of the agency's care of the children. The agency's authority ceases when the child is legally adopted, when he has grown to the age of self-support and is capable of looking out for himself, when he is married, or when he is transferred to an institution for a special sort of care. It should be made clear, however, that this cessation of supervision does not necessarily mean a break in the friendly relations between the child and the agency; many of the adopted children continue in touch with the organization. Occasionally, in giving its consent for adoption, this agency stipulates that the family report on the child's development once or twice a year. In general, however, it must be left to the foster family to take the initiative in maintaining its connection with the agency after the child is adopted. The agency does not visit the adopted children, unless in exceptional cases; for instance, if the foster family has invited the agent to drop in occasionally, or if there has been some special cause for concern about the child and the agent wishes to keep informed about it in a friendly way. The agency writes occasionally to the foster families, perhaps five or six years after adoption, to find out what has happened and how the child has developed. Now and again the foster family will come back to the office for advice if they are in difficulties. Usually their problem is the child's behavior and they can often be substantially helped to a

solution by the agency. For instance, a most intelligent foster mother recently called to ask the agency's advice about sending to a boarding school her adopted son of ten, who was getting rather beyond control at home. This agency has, however, no system either of visiting or of communicating with its adopted children. Nor is the break with the organization automatically made when the child reaches the age of eighteen or twenty-one, for many boys and girls of eighteen need supervision as much as the children under ten. The time at which active supervision ends is determined not by the age of the child, but by the circumstances. A girl is not left to drift from job to job, even if she is twenty-three or twenty-four. When the agency has assured itself that she can take care of herself without help, supervision is withdrawn. Perhaps we should add that supervision of these older boys and girls is as unobtrusive as possible, and that every effort is made to prevent their being known as wards of "a charity."

CHAPTER V

REPLACEMENTS

In discussing this question it was decided to omit the replacement of children under five, so seldom has this been necessary in the experience of this Association.

Child's Feeling About Replacements.—The agency has one advantage in replacing children which it cannot have in the first placement, and that is a knowledge of how the child will behave in a certain environment. Replacements are usually made with much more knowledge of the child's capacities and characteristics than is possible in the first placement, and that fact often makes replacements more successful. When the agency has had a chance to observe the child in one home it can judge better how he will behave in another type of home—whether he will adapt himself to family life and what sort of foster mother and father he most needs. Offsetting this advantage is, however, an important disadvantage. This is the child's own attitude, which is not likely to be propitious. A child who has had to leave his first foster home through some fault of his own is likely to be either self-distrustful because of his failure, or defiant and careless of the effect he makes. Neither of these moods promises well for his behavior in the next adjustment which he will have to make. A child who has had an unhappy experience in one home dreads going to another. A child who has proved too much for his first foster parents is likely to go to a second home with a determination to get the better of a second set.

One way of dealing with these attitudes is to consult as far as is practicable the child's own feelings and preferences. This is one of the best ways to secure the child's good will, and it is particularly helpful in this situation. Another and, of course, an obvious way is to pick

out the second home with all possible care, keeping in mind the traits which the child has shown in his first home and what his foster parents have said about him.

Continuity of School Work.—In the replacement of children fairly advanced in school an effort should always be made to avoid interrupting the school year or half year. Many children can be kept in the home from which they are to be removed until they have got their promotion. The causes for removal are often chronic rather than acute, and it is possible to postpone the removal for a month or more. The children themselves often feel strongly on the subject of losing their promotion, and will be antagonized by having their work interrupted. Occasionally it is possible to find a second home in the same school district, and it can sometimes be arranged to board the child temporarily in that district until the school term is over.

As the children's worker grows in experience, she learns not to take foster parents too literally nor to act too promptly when they despairingly announce, "You must take Billy away to-day—I can't stand it another minute." Slowness in getting into action on the part of the visitor will give the foster family time to settle down. Billy, who has been brought up standing by the realization that he is to be "sent back to the office," may be a model child for the next week, and the tempest blows over, and may be over for good. One such distracted foster mother—one of the most intelligent—telephoned the office in the afternoon that they must send Bobby back; he had turned their household topsy-turvy, offended the cook, and caused such a rumpus in the apartment that their landlord had given them notice. The next morning she telephoned again. She and her husband had been talking things over; Bobby was, of course, a young savage, but it wasn't his fault, and he had plenty of intelligence to be worked upon. In short, they couldn't bear to send him back. That was two years ago, and Bobby is now firmly rooted in their family. Far from being daunted by their trials with him, they have since adopted a second child. Another foster mother decided that she couldn't keep her five-year-old foster son; he was temperamentally unsuited, he showed no signs of "fitting in" to her household, he wasn't "the kind of child" she

wanted to adopt. As she still was sure after a month or more that she didn't want to keep him, plans were made for placing him elsewhere. At the eleventh hour his foster mother, confronted by the separation, realized that she could not possibly give him up. That was two years ago, and he is now legally adopted.

Replacements involve among other problems this one in especial; if a child is a failure in one foster home after another should we continue to try to settle him in a family, or should we decide that he is the kind of child for whom that particular plan will never work? Should we go on indefinitely trying to find the right home for him?

The reasons why the placement has failed should guide us in this decision. If the foster family have been at fault—if, for instance, household changes, the death of a foster parent, or an unsympathetic attitude on the part of the foster parents are to blame—unquestionably we must try again. If however, the child himself has stubbornly resisted the efforts of his foster parents to absorb him into their family life, or shows a continuity of naughtiness which drives one family after another to return him to the agency, it is time to ask ourselves, is this child ever going to fit into a household?

Children Unsuited to Foster Homes.—It is unquestionable that there are a few children whose temperaments or experience have made them permanently resistant to family life. Such a child, for instance, was a twelve-year-old girl in the care of this agency. She was twelve when her family was broken up by the desertion of her father and the elopement of her mother with another man. She told her first foster mother, "Nobody need think they could ever adopt *me*." Her deliberate plan was to maintain an attitude of defiance, and to resist affection and absorption into the household life. "I've got a father and brothers and when I get big enough to earn money I'm going back to them." Being a child of unusual persistence and determination, she was not adopted. For three years she has been in a boarding school, where she has maintained the same aloof attitude. This difficulty is not to be solved by a foster home placement. Such children need something different from family life, which to them would mean the substitution of foster parents for their own, of an alien household

for their own—a substitution which runs counter to their strongest instincts.

Alternatives to Foster Home Care.—If, after continued placements, made with the best resources of the agency, the child still fails to settle down anywhere, it is probably wisest to give up that method of solving his difficulties and to look for another. This is often found in placing the child in a more impersonal environment, where there will be less need for an adaptation to other personalities and their demands. For instance, many older girls who fail in one family after another will be successful living in a working-girls' boarding house and going out to work. A similar arrangement will often work with older boys who get into one scrape after another on a farm. Some of the children still in school may need the training and the routine life, different from that of a family, of some special school or institution. One plan which the Association has found successful with difficult older girls is to have them board in one of the regular boarding homes where they will have a certain amount of supervision, and go out to work. This applies especially, of course, to girls who dislike housework. These girls pay their own board direct to the boarding mother, who helps them buy their clothes and keep them in order and in general keeps an eye on the girls. The girls often feel much more at home in this type of home than in the so-called working home, which may be too much above them socially and intellectually.

Effect on Child of Replacements.—That continued replacement does have an injurious effect on the child is indisputable. He loses all sense of stability, and with it the feeling that he is up against a situation in which he is bound to make good. He develops a sense of evasion; if he can't get on in this home, the society will put him in another, and so on into an indefinite future of dodging clear duties and demands. He becomes hardened against training and persuasion. He loses that sense of responsibility which is at the basis of character formation. He develops a taste for the excitement of changing from one home to another; this is one of the most disastrous and most common effects of many replacements, and is frequent even with the younger children.

With a sensitive type of child the effects are different but equally harmful. He loses his self-confidence and his trust in other people, and becomes hopelessly confused in his ideas of conduct. Often such a child is quite ignorant of why he is naughty, and feels that it is something beyond his control. For such a child to be constantly punished by removal from one foster home to another is obviously dangerous. It teaches him little, frightens him, and makes him distrustful.

The break in the continuity of their lives due to replacements has another harmful effect on the children—it effectually dispels any dependence that they might have had on the protection and affection of a new father and mother after their own have failed them. The suffering that this entails is sure to be deeply injurious. For one thing, it makes nearly impossible a normal attitude toward society and causes the child to feel himself an outcast. It leaves him at loose ends so far as a sense of belonging to any one person or any one place is concerned—and there are few people with the strength to stand so much alone.

In general one may say that replacements should be avoided as far as possible, and that when they must be made, it should be with all possible care. If replacement after replacement is necessary, the agency should stop to consider whether there is something the matter with the child which can be cured, or to discuss other ways than replacement of dealing with the trouble.

Replacement Records

First Case.

Anna Nicholas was of Austrian parentage, but American birth, and was committed to a children's home when she was six years old. She was the child of an abusive and worthless and drunken father and an ignorant mother. Anna stayed in the institution until she was nearly eleven. There they reported her as "rather above the average mentally—has never given any trouble. She is truthful, honest, and is a good-natured, affectionate little girl."

First Placement.—The home of an elderly widow living alone and anxious for companionship. There Anna stayed from the time that she was eleven until she was fourteen. For the first year her foster mother found her entirely honest, and spoke of the fact that she never rummaged through the drawers or cupboards. The two were very companionable, and Anna seemed contented to be alone a good deal with Mrs. Clark. She did excellent work in school. The teacher thought her unusually bright and very spirited. When Anna had been there nearly two

years Mrs. Clark's health failed seriously, and she found it hard to keep track of what Anna was doing. Her eyesight grew steadily dimmer. Anna was left to her own resources. She developed the habit of stealing small sums from Mrs. Clark's purse, and became so much of a tomboy that she spent most of her time on the street playing with the boys. She was very untidy, and shirked all possible housework. Through the five or six months that followed the situation became worse; it was harder for Mrs. Clark to look after the house and Anna, she became querulous and complaining and out of sympathy with the child, and Anna grew harder to control. She continued to take small amounts of money and to lie about it. She was heedless and irresponsible, showing little consideration for her foster mother. The various references consulted, who were in close touch with the situation, felt, however, that Anna was on the whole happy there, and that there was no risk in the small amount of supervision which she got. She was always in early in the evening, and there seemed no question of anything but tomboyishness in her playing with boys. The visitors felt that as Mrs. Clark grew feebler and less able to deal with Anna she became nagging, and that it was only a matter of a few months before Anna should leave, for Mrs. Clark's sake and her own. Finally, in August, 1918, Anna was removed from Mrs. Clark's home.

At the office she was given a medical examination, which showed a normal condition of health, and a mental examination. The psychologist said of her: Intelligence a little above the average . . . common sense higher than average. Girl learns quickly and has in general an alert and retentive mind, capable of much further development.

Second Placement.—The following day Anna was taken by the visitor who had been supervising her to a home in the northern part of the State. The family consisted of a couple of about thirty-five, and one little girl of three. Mr. Stapleton was a business man and a college man; Mrs. Stapleton had been a stenographer before her marriage. Their house was comfortable and modern and in a good part of town. They owned a car. It was their intention to make Anna feel herself a member of the family. She was to take her breakfast and luncheon with them, but her dinner in the kitchen with the little girl. Her work was to be the usual helping with the dishes and the housework. Mrs. Stapleton seemed genuinely interested in making the girl contented and at home and thoroughly capable of training her.

At the first visit, made not quite two months later, Mrs. Stapleton was full of complaints. Anna had no sense of responsibility, she forgot to lock doors and rinse dish towels, she left the windows and the dishes dirty, and she dropped the baby overboard when the family were on a fishing trip. She would never change her clothes nor mend them nor take a bath unless Mrs. Stapleton drove her to it. The only good thing that they had to say of her was that her school work was excellent. The Stapletons told the visitor that they felt sympathetic with Anna, and that they had been very patient with her. However, they admitted to the visitor that she was "as hard to understand as a German," and that they had given her no spending money in the two months because "she had not deserved it." Mrs. Stapleton said that Anna had no sense of gratitude, and Mr. Stapleton said that she was "the queerest child" that he had ever known and that there was no getting at her at all. The visitor could get very little from Anna herself except that she hated mending. She listened with a "queer, half-defiant smile." She admitted that it was wrong to lie, but could not tell why she did it.

Two months later the same visitor called again. Mrs. Stapleton had been ill with influenza and Anna had done very well, washing the dishes and taking care of the baby. Her general work, however, was as slipshod as ever. She had taken some money too, her first slip since she had come. She ate things from the pantry on the sly. One of the neighbors told Mrs. Stapleton that it "would be better if she shipped Anna instead of being so good to her." Mrs. Stapleton herself feels that it would be more efficacious a remedy, but she feels sorry for Anna because she has no mother. Mr. Stapleton has talked to Anna and told her he is under no obligation to keep her if she does not behave, but that he will keep her if she only becomes more dependable. He feels now he will not want her on his hands when she is two or three years older, because he does not know what she will do. Anna has written her former foster mother saying that she is unhappy with the Stapletons and that she does not get enough to eat. Anna has told Mrs. Stapleton that when she was with Mrs. Clark she knew several girls who thought nothing of taking money to go to picture shows and, of course, they had to invent stories to explain the disappearance of the money. . . . "Anna is the sort of girl whom it is almost impossible to reach."

Along with these bad reports from the family came excellent reports from the school. Her teacher wrote that "Anna is doing very satisfactory work in her grade and has adjusted herself unusually well in her new school. We are glad to have her in our school."

Removal.—Finally, in February, 1919, the Stapletons insisted that Anna be removed at once. The last straw had been her leaving the little girl alone in the house one evening. She had taken more money. . . . She told the girls at school that Mrs. Stapleton was her mother, and that Virginia was her half-sister, thus explaining the difference in names. She has told others that she is Mrs. Stapleton's niece and is boarding there. She seems ashamed of having to work, and Mrs. Stapleton feels that the difference between their home and that of Mrs. Clark was not explained to her. She thinks that Anna expected to be in the same position with them as in the former home.

Boarding Care.—On her return to the office Anna was again examined. The doctor found her heart slow and recommended light work and little exercise. She was placed in a temporary boarding home. The family took a great liking to her and she to them. They found her very nice with the younger children, reliable about money, and fairly neat about her person. The boarding mother thought that Anna had been lonely at the Stapletons. Anna herself showed improvement in manner and in appearance. She said she had not told a lie nor taken money since she left the Stapletons, and that she did not intend to do so any more. She agreed with the agent that it was very foolish to do things that were wrong and that she was much happier when she had nothing to conceal.

About this time Anna was examined by a psychiatrist, who considered her difficulties due to a temporary maladjustment and advised not pushing her in school. He recommended leaving her where she was happy.

Within a month the boarding mother had a number of complaints to make. Anna was careless and troublesome. She did her small share of the housework carelessly. Matters came to a climax when Anna induced a younger girl boarding in the same family to steal a large and varied assortment of things with her. The boarding mother gave her up after six months, saying that she had absolutely failed with her. Anna had been deteriorating lately, taking more money and

lying about it and showing complete indifference to reproof. She showed no emotion on leaving. When Anna went to the next boarding home she was told that the boarding mother would not be told of her faults on condition that she make a resolute effort to overcome them.

Very much the same thing happened in the second boarding home; Anna began well and then fell back into her faults. Here, however, the situation became complicated by the discovery of a number of questionable things in the boarding home. The visitor who had supervised Anna from the time that she went to the Stapletons had a talk with her about conditions in her boarding home and was impressed by her fair mindedness and good sense and frankness in discussing the matter. It was decided that she must be removed and another home was found for her. The visitor then took Anna out to luncheon and had a long talk with her, telling her about the new home and leaving it to her to say what she would prefer to do. Anna was undoubtedly attached to her boarding mother in spite of the obvious defects of the home and had very much dreaded leaving her. She objected too to leaving at that time, just before the end of the first term of school, as she would lose her promotion. It was arranged, therefore, to leave her there till the first of the year, at which time Anna said she would be glad to go to the other family. Anna said that she appreciated the offer and would be glad to accept it. She had been afraid that it was a working home, like the Stapletons, and she did not want to go to such a place again. Agent told Anna that this was a home of high standards and ideals, and that Anna would be expected to live up to them. Anna told the agent that her boarding mother had been trying to persuade here to stay, but that she had told her that she would make no promises until she heard about the new home.

Third Placement.—The home to which she then went seems in some ways to contradict what has previously been said about the wisdom of placing these girls in homes too remote from them socially and intellectually. This household was superior in those ways to the Stapletons' home, where Anna had failed so lamentably. But the answer to the question of why it has succeeded where the other failed must lie in the difference of attitude on the part of the family. Mr. and Mrs. Long and their three grown children who were living at home were all apparently genuinely anxious to do something to help a young girl. It is perhaps significant of their feeling that their interest was aroused by a special appeal in a newspaper for help for this particular girl, one in a group of thirty others. Certainly their interest seemed straightforward and warm. The work that Anna could do was of secondary importance. Mrs. Long herself, with the help of her two daughters, took care of the large house and did the cooking. One of the daughters taught in a nearby school and one was in a business school. The son of twenty-five was at home for the winter, but was to be married soon. The house was big and handsomely furnished and had a large garden. Everything was in good taste and immaculately clean. Mr. Long was in business, and though the family were only moderately well off, one daughter had been through college, one was studying for an advanced degree in history, and the son had business training. Mrs. Long planned to teach Anna sewing and housework and cooking, as she had her own daughters, and was looking forward with pleasure to having a younger person in the house again.

Anna went there in January, 1920, when she was fifteen and a half. She was taken there by the same visitor. Mrs. Long came to the door. . . . She

greeted Anna very nicely, put her arms around her and kissed her, and made her feel at home. . . . She said that she knew that she would like Anna, and she hoped she would be happy with them. Anna was quite responsive. She said, as she looked around her room, that she could not believe that this home was to be hers, and that she was going to do her best. Mr. Long came in and greeted Anna very cordially, calling her Miss Anna. The son and daughter also came in, and agent thought no one could have greeted Anna more cordially.

The visitor called a few weeks later and found Mrs. Long very cordial and very much pleased with Anna. . . . She admits that Anna has her faults, but feels that those are natural in a young girl. Mrs. Long thinks that she is an exceptionally sensitive girl. Mrs. Long says that because of her having been ill with a cold they had spoiled her a little. It was a pleasure to her to have some one young again to fuss over. She feels that Anna needs an extra bit of mothering to make up for the rather hard life she has had. Anna responds very sweetly to the interest they take in her, and is apparently delighted with the large family. They are a jolly crowd, and Anna can hardly wait until they come home at night. They have had her do the dishes once or twice in the evening, and she was so long at it that they teased her about it. They consider her very bright and rather witty. She reads voraciously, and they have given her very sensible standard books. Anna came in with the news that she had been promoted to 8A, and says that she wants to go through high school and finish with a commercial course. Anna certainly looked well and happy.

At the next visit, some months later, Mrs. Long had an excellent report to give. Anna had improved physically very noticeably, although she tired easily. Mrs. Long was going to arrange for more outdoor exercise and later on a gymnasium course. Her only work is to make her bed and to help with the dishes at night. They had never found her untruthful nor dishonest; in fact, she had shown unusual care in returning pieces of money which she had found about the house. She had a keen sense of humor and they all enjoyed her. The teacher reported that she was doing excellent work and was very companionable with the other children. She was the only one in her class who had no deficiencies for the semester. Anna said that she had never been happier, and that the Longs were a wonderful family. She liked the school and her companions and had a wonderful time at home. She seemed perfectly satisfied, and was beginning to be a credit to herself.

As one reviews this case, certain salient features appear. First, that a girl of Anna's type needs a special sort of home and must feel a certain congeniality if she is to make good. Second, that this sense of being at home depends for her on the attitude of the family toward her. For instance, she was and still is really fond of Mrs. Clark, who took her in on a simple and natural footing. At the Stapletons she failed undoubtedly because she realized that their interest in her was primarily a selfish one. Mr. Stapleton's statement to her that he was "under no obligation to keep her" and Mrs. Stapleton's remark to

the visitor that Anna was "harder to understand than a German" are sufficient indications of their point of view, a point of view which a girl as keen as Anna could hardly miss. Anna's fibs at school about her relationship to the Stapletons were undoubtedly an indirect attempt to make herself feel one of the family and to be thought so by the neighbors. At the Longs, where she is thoroughly one of the family and not a negligible one at that, she responds with all her powers of development. In other words, if she feels the atmosphere warm and human, she will do her utmost and will rise to meet its demands; but if it be over-critical and unsympathetic, she will relax into her worst faults. She is a sharply defined example of the girl who will rise to a situation if it appeals to her, but who will be utterly indifferent if she feels the absence of a personal appeal. This the Stapletons either could not or would not see.

Another interesting feature is her good school work, which runs like a clearly marked thread through the confused pattern of her life. She seems always to have maintained her ambition and her pride in that, which is a good index of her possibilities. It is worth pointing out that her transfer to the Long home, which it was important to make as quickly as possible, was postponed to allow her to finish out her term at school.

It may be noted too that Anna was consulted about this move, and that in consequence she went to the Long home with a consciousness of doing so voluntarily and of the friendliness of the office. The value of feeling that she had made her own choice can hardly be exaggerated.

That the Long home was not a "working home" is, of course, an important point. But here the difference is one not of degree, but of quality. Undoubtedly Anna would be willing to do twice the work at the Longs' that she would at the Stapletons'; because she feels that the interest of the Longs is not in what she can do, but in who and what she is as a personality. That is the answer undoubtedly to many a problem with the girls of this difficult age. That a home of the type of the Longs' is uncommon is only too true. It has that most valuable of all qualities in this situation—a sense of the importance of the girl's personality and a respect for it.

Second Case.—The need of close supervision and the difficulties which may be experienced in dealing even with an intelligent and supposedly sympathetic foster family are shown in the case which follows. After the children have been transferred to their second home, an equal amount of supervision is called for, but from a different point of view.

First Placement.—Robert and Henry Hale, two brothers of five and ten, were first placed by the Association in June, 1919. They were unusually devoted to each other, and the Association had refused several homes to which they might have gone separately, feeling that this was a case in which the separation would be not only painful but harmful. The family who took them were childless—people in their late forties. Mr. Stevens was an architect, a rather fastidious and reticent person. His wife had been a teacher for many years, and had retained a somewhat dictatorial manner. It was felt at the office that they were perhaps too inflexible to adapt themselves in middle age to the entrance of children into their home, that their ideas were set, and that they might be difficult people to advise. They were in moderate circumstances, were kindly and substantial, and genuinely interested in the project. In view of the fact that they were willing to take two brothers it was decided to use the home, although the decision was made with some misgivings. They called at the office to see Robert and Henry, and seemed very much attracted to them. When they had decided to take them it was explained very carefully to the Stevens that the older boy, Henry, was suspicious of people, lacking in self-confidence, and unhappy over having been removed from his family. The strong affection existing between the two boys was emphasized. They were warned that it would undoubtedly take tact and patience to win the confidence and affection of Henry. They were urged to go to see the boys at their boarding home or to have the boys spend a day now and again with them before the placement was finally made. It was felt that the transition might be very difficult for Henry in his suspicious state of mind, and that a gradual ripening of his acquaintance with the Stevens would make the transition easier from one home to another. The Stevens failed to avail themselves to any extent of the opportunity of getting to know the boys beforehand.

Four Months After Placement.—Robert was eating breakfast when the agent arrived at 11.30. Mrs. Stevens explained that she allowed him to get up late because he stayed up evenings to be with his daddy. . . . Mrs. Stevens said that she had not been ill, but she was getting nervous. . . . Robert has none but sweet ways and is a constant delight. Henry, on the other hand, has developed into a problem for the Stevens, because he has sullen moods, is not helpful . . . won't do his homework, and is backward in his studies. He talks about his own mother in a depressing way before Robert. Mrs. Stevens feels that he is a backward boy, and will be a drag on Robert always. They have concluded . . . that they could do more for one boy than for two. Agent did not feel from Mrs. Stevens' account of Henry's wrongdoings and shortcomings that he is very different from other boys of his age. It is obvious that there is decided feeling on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Stevens against him, probably because he is too much of a handful with all the other things that Mrs. Stevens has

to do, and because of her age and disposition. Agent was appalled at the rigidity and amount of discipline meted out to Robert. . . . Agent wondered if such a live youngster would continue to be docile in the face of so many dogmatic commands. . . . Agent inquired in regard to Mr. Stevens' attitude toward the boys and the boys' toward him. Mrs. Stevens said he was fond of both—especially of the little fellow, as the latter is of him. . . . Mr. Stevens is patient with Henry and tries to reason things out with him. . . . He was disappointed because the boy had not taken to books. . . . Agent thought that Mrs. Stevens was set in her ways and might not be able to cope with even normal problems connected with a boy. In Henry's case there has been the added drawback of being contrasted with his brother, and so there is no love as an incentive to try and understand him. . . . Agent talked with Mrs. Stevens a long time. . . and told her she felt there was nothing unusual the matter with Henry, but that without love and firmness it would not be possible to do much with him. She also mentioned that the office had been surprised at Mr. Stevens' statement that it could not hurt boys to be separated. For this reason it was possible that the office might consider it advisable to remove both boys. Agent felt that the possibility of losing Robert and also a new awareness that she had not been quite fair to Henry might change Mrs. Stevens' attitude. . . Agent went to the school Henry is attending. . . . Agent saw both the teachers he has had this year, the one in the third grade saying that he did such good work that she thought he should be put ahead a class. His present teacher said that Henry was doing very poor work, particularly in arithmetic, and she felt it was because he was lazy. Agent doubted if she were a first-class teacher. . . . Agent walked home with Henry, a distance of about two miles, and tried to make him understand Mrs. Stevens' difficulties and responsibilities. . . . Henry was perfectly polite and agreed to everything agent said. . . . Agent had the disappointed feeling that the talk had rolled off his mind . . . but liked him just the same and felt that what he needs is stiff discipline—stiffer than Mrs. Stevens gives—backed up by real affection.

Office Visit.—Dec. 10, '19. Mr. Stevens called at the office. . . . He said he was quite sure that if we knew the children as he and Mrs. Stevens knew them we would not be willing to keep them together and would not sacrifice one child for the other. . . . He said the children cared nothing for each other, and that Robert was superior in every way to Henry. He said that Henry was everything that was undesirable, and that he was going to turn out a very bad boy, and unless some one took him who was very firm and had nothing to do but to look after him he would be better in an institution. . . . Mr. Stevens seemed to think that he knew a great deal about the boys, but was unwilling to give facts to agent unless she would promise him a reconsideration of our decision not to separate the boys. . . . He said that we did not know the boys at all, and that they were in no way like brothers and he did not see any sense in keeping them together.

Removal.—The boys were later removed, with the explanation to Henry that the Stevens could not keep them both and that the office did not wish to separate them. Henry seemed much relieved at knowing that he was to remain with his brother. That same day they went to a visiting home.

Second Placement.—The second family, Mr. and Mrs. Curtis, had only one child, a girl of fifteen. They were cultured people, New Englanders, in moderate

circumstances, and wished to do something for homeless children in memory of a daughter who had died a year ago. They had had no experience with boys. Several visits and telephone conversations ensued. Three weeks later a visit was made by the visitor who had seen the boys at the Stevens'.

Visit.—Jan. 14, '20. Mrs. Curtis struck agent as a simple, plain, straightforward kind of woman, with much sympathy, possibly a little too sentimental. She was intensely interested in having Henry advance rapidly in school and catch up with his grade, was tutoring him at home, and possibly forcing him too fast. She found him untruthful and obstinate and inclined to be lazy. In spite of this she was genuinely interested in helping him and not inclined to be prejudiced against him because of faults. Robert was giving no special concern; they were all very fond of him already. But it was Henry on whom she was concentrating. She was much touched by Henry's intense desire to stay with them, and very honest with him about it, not promising him anything final but assuring him that he would not be set adrift.

Visit.—Mar. 30, '20. Mrs. Curtis seems very much encouraged about the two boys, and said that during the last two weeks she had felt that things were really improving. . . . Henry has passed the work for the grade ahead, and on his last report had two A's, a B plus, and two B's. . . . Henry is very much pleased with his progress in school. He was doing his afternoon study when agent called, as he does two hours' work every afternoon during the holidays. Mrs. Curtis says that she is well aware of Henry's yellow streaks, but that she is not hopeless about training him. She said Henry had told her that his boarding mother told him he would never amount to anything because of the kind of father he had. . . . Mrs. Curtis is doing her best to get this idea out of Henry's head. She says that he is much inclined to be grouchy . . . although he is improving. She feels that he has lazy tendencies which must be discouraged, and requires him to work Saturday mornings. It is his job to clean the front porch and the yard. Henry rebels against this, as all the other boys come round urging him to play. Mrs. Curtis, however, insists on this, and agent does not feel that it is too severe a task. . . . Mr. Curtis is inclined to be somewhat irritated at the boys at various times, as he is not wholly in sympathy with Mrs. Curtis's plan. Mrs. Curtis was very frank in speaking of this to agent. . . . She says that while Mr. Curtis would not admit that he was glad to have the boys there, he is intensely interested in what they do and she feels very definitely that he is better off with the boys in the house than without them. . . . Mrs. Curtis is beginning to feel that she can trust Henry a little more with money. . . . As she feels that she can trust them more she will give them a small definite allowance. . . . Mrs. Curtis says that Henry responds to anything that is a little off color. In the movies he is interested in crime, and she is a little worried about this. She says that while she does not talk to him directly about these things, they are often made the subjects of conversation at the table in such a way as to bring out the results of wrong conduct. . . . Mrs. Curtis is thoroughly awake to her problem with these boys, and she is absolutely conscientious in trying to do the best she can for them. She has very little self-assurance in the matter, but says that there has not been a particle of doubt in her mind since the boys came there that it was intended for those boys to be there. She is not troubled, therefore, in trying to make up her mind what she ought or ought not to do. She wants to have the boys go through high school.

She doubts if they can go further than that. She said that she had made her will some years ago, and that what she left would go to her daughter, but she had been thinking of taking out a policy for the two boys, so that if anything happened to her their education would be assured. . . . She is beginning to feel that during the last two weeks Henry really has some affection for her. On more than one occasion he has owned up when he had lied or taken money and she has been extremely happy over this. Robert is very devoted to Mrs. Curtis and is quite demonstrative. This, of course, pleases her.

Third Case.—The last replacement case to be discussed is that of a girl who was ten at the time of her first placement, and who was twice replaced, and finally adopted in her third foster home.

Child's History.—Caroline Turner was born November, 1907. She was the eldest of five children, whose home was broken up by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The father, one of eighteen children, drank heavily, worked seldom, although he could earn good wages as a painter, and served many jail sentences for non-support and six months in the penitentiary for assault on his wife. He was supposed to be a man of fair mentality, and originally of better character than his wife, but through dissipation had lost whatever stability he might once have had. He showed no sense of responsibility whatever for his children. The mother was one of twelve children, was weak-willed, lacking in moral sense, and in responsibility for her family, drank heavily, was immoral, and had served a reformatory sentence. She was incapable of any work other than housework, lost positions through drink and the bad company which she kept, and could not be influenced to a better way of living. The grandmother was a healthy woman, a splendid worker, but of doubtful reputation and little moral sense. The family were always associated with the "bad lot" of the town. The youngest child was rumored to be the child of a negro in whose family the mother lived for a time. The children were all, except Caroline, in poor condition physically, much institutionalized, and apparently retarded. Caroline seemed more promising than the others. She was attractive, and at the institution was much liked. At ten she was in the second grade in school. She was given a mental test before she was placed in her first home and was about one year retarded. Her physical examination showed good nutrition and normal development, somewhat enlarged tonsils, rather large abdomen, and slight flat-foot.

Following is a summary of the investigation of the first home in which Caroline was placed:

Mrs. McMillan is twenty-seven years old. She is an American by birth but is of Italian parentage. She is a rather stout, fresh-looking woman, with prominent features and brown hair. She is a very ordinary woman, without any real refinement, but she seems pleasant and fairly intelligent. She told agent that her disposition is not nearly as good as her husband's.

Captain McMillan is a man thirty-four years old, an American of Scotch and English parentage. He is of average height, brown hair and eyes. He impresses

one much more favorably than Mrs. McMillan. He is more intelligent and seems to have a stronger character.

The McMillans have never had any children, though Mrs. McMillan knows of no reason why. Her niece, who is her sister's only daughter, has stayed with her most of the time for the last two years and Mrs. McMillan has clothed her. Mrs. McMillan says her sister is very unappreciative, and is not willing to let Mrs. McMillan have the child when she grows older, so Mrs. McMillan is anxious to adopt one.

The McMillans live in a pleasant though plain neighborhood. Their home was immaculately clean, comfortably furnished, but in rather poor taste. Their bedrooms were plainly furnished, well ventilated, and very clean. The room in which they are planning to have the little girl sleep will do very well. The house has modern plumbing and the rooms are well arranged.

Captain McMillan receives a salary of $155 a month. He is captain on the tugboat ——, of the —— Company. He has held this position for a number of years. Captain McMillan is insured for $600 and Mrs. McMillan for $200.

Mrs. McMillan's first idea was to take a little girl between the ages of seven and eleven years for adoption. When agent called, she found Mrs. McMillan's friends had been persuading her to take a much younger child, so that it was with some difficulty that agent persuaded her to take a child over six years of age. Mr. and Mrs. McMillan are not very particular about family history as long as the child is normal. They are rather afraid of a heredity where there is insanity or feeble-mindedness. They would want a child who is healthy, and Mrs. McMillan is rather anxious to have a child whom she would consider good looking. Mr. and Mrs. McMillan especially want an affectionate child. They say their niece, Ruth, is unresponsive, and she has been a disappointment to them.

Mrs. Watson (a reference) made a favorable impression upon agent. She is a woman of more refinement than Mrs. McMillan, whom she has known for several years. She was not at all enthusiastic in speaking of her, but said she thought it would be all right to place a child here, and in a good many ways she thought it would be a good home. Captain McMillan is superior to his wife intellectually, and a man who reads a good deal. He has a good disposition and has held a good position for a long time. Mrs. McMillan is not motherly. She is a woman who cares a good deal about nice clothes and spends a great deal of time on the piazza. She does not care at all for reading, but she is usually at home and takes good care of everything. She is friendly and happy natured, and so she is generally liked, but she has not much depth. Mr. and Mrs. McMillan get along very well together and he thinks a great deal of his wife. Mrs. McMillan is quick tempered, but her anger does not last. Mrs. McMillan's little nephew stays with her occasionally, and Mrs. McMillan became irritated with him once and slapped him in the face. Mrs. Watson says, however, this is the only time that she knew of anything of the kind happening. The nephew was very fond of Mrs. McMillan, and used to like to stay with her, and Mrs. Watson thinks Mrs. McMillan took good care of her niece Ruth, who is eleven years old. Ruth is an unresponsive child, but Mrs. Watson thinks she likes to stay with Mrs. McMillan. Mrs. McMillan would not be inclined to sacrifice herself for a child—she would be likely to consider herself first. Mrs. Watson does not think there is any question that Mrs. McMillan will treat the child well, only she might not be as sympathetic

toward her as she should be. Mrs. Watson has a high opinion of Mr. McMillan; says he is a man of good habits and she has never heard of his drinking.

The other two references approve of the home, but are not discriminating people. It is hard to get satisfactory information about this home because the people have few social connections and Mrs. Watson was the only reference who was especially helpful. The other two seemed so inferior. Agent thinks, however, that we might safely try the home for a little girl over five years of age. The home is not hard to reach, and could be pretty carefully supervised, and as it is difficult to get homes for little girls of the age they would take, it seems worth while to use it. Had the husband been inferior to Mrs. McMillan the home would not seem desirable, but he is evidently a man of good character, industrious, and kind in his home.

Placement.—Oct. 18. Mrs. McMillan took Caroline home with her after seeing her twice at the office. She was not much attracted to her at the first interview, but liked her very much the second time. She agreed to have Caroline's teeth, which were in bad condition, attended to by her own dentist, preferring this to bringing the child into New York for treatment by the agency's dentist.

Letter.—Nov. 2. Mrs. McMillan wrote that she wished to return Caroline, giving as her chief reason the fact that the child was too old and knew too much about her own family and circumstances.

The visitor who had investigated the home made all the subsequent visits.

Visit.—Nov. 6. Mrs. McMillan made the same kind of impression as when the investigation was made. She is a very ordinary woman, who is inexperienced, lacking in common sense, and not sympathetic. She seems to be anxious to comply with our rules, and not to be keeping anything back. She is beginning to appreciate Caroline since every one in the neighborhood likes her and it touched her because Caroline cried when she spoke of her having to go back to the office. She said that the child had not shown any affection for them, and she had not supposed that it would make any difference to her. She says that Caroline seems to be a nice child in every way, but that at first she was not at all attracted to her. She had set her heart on a younger child. Mrs. McMillan says that Captain McMillan likes Caroline very much and thinks that they would make a great mistake if they gave her up. Caroline is obedient. She has been truthful, and Mrs. McMillan does not doubt her honesty; she has been leaving money within easy reach, but agent told her that she thought it unwise to place this temptation before the child. Caroline has been entered in the 2B grade in school. The teacher is a near neighbor, and Mrs. McMillan asked her to tell her if there is anything about Caroline which is peculiar. Mrs. McMillan wants to be very particular in choosing Caroline's playmates, and does not want her to play with older children. Mrs. McMillan told Caroline when she brought her home that she was her own child and that she had placed her in an institution when she was a baby. She felt that this simplified things, for the children kept questioning her about where she came from. Agent told Mrs. McMillan that she had made a great mistake in telling Caroline this, and that she would have to explain that it was not so. Caroline looked very well. Now that Mrs. McMillan thinks that she will keep her after all she has bought her some new clothes. Mrs. McMillan did not think it was necessary to take her to the dentist, but agent reminded her that she had agreed to do so and she said that she would. Caroline impressed agent as an ordinary child. She seems healthy and happy natured. She likes

her home, and told agent that she wanted to stay with "her own mother." The McMillans have given her roller skates and have evidently been kind to her. Agent called on the most reliable reference, Mrs. Watson. She says that the McMillans seem anxious to keep Caroline now and that the child seems perfectly happy there. Mr. McMillan makes a great fuss over her—he is very fond of children. She repeated to agent what Mrs. McMillan had told Caroline about her being their own child, as an instance of Mrs. McMillan's lack of judgment.

Visit.—Dec. 5. Mrs. McMillan was seen at home and Caroline walked home from school with agent. Mrs. McMillan is beginning to resent visits a little, and does not like to have suggestions made. The house always looks well, for Mrs. McMillan is a particular housekeeper. Caroline's room was very neat. Caroline has rosy cheeks and looks very well. Her expression has changed a good deal, and she seems particularly happy. Mrs. McMillan thinks a good deal of clothes, and places too much emphasis upon them, and Caroline's head seems a little turned by it. She talked about all her new clothes and the things that she was going to have for Christmas. She says that Mr. and Mrs. McMillan are very kind to her, and she speaks of Mrs. McMillan as if she were proud to possess a mother. Everything is apparently going very well with her. Mrs. McMillan says that they do not want to give Caroline up now and that they want to adopt her. She has explained to Caroline that she is not her own mother but she has thought that after they legally adopted her they would move somewhere else and then she would tell Caroline that she was her own child. Agent told her that it would be much better to let things remain as they are—that it would confuse Caroline. She says that she never had any fault to find with Caroline, only she wanted a younger child. Caroline is obedient, and has never been the least bit saucy or impudent. She talks a good deal about her own family and has told Mrs. McMillan things which shocked her.

Agent saw Mrs. Watson, the reference, who says that Mrs. McMillan found out about agent's previous visit and was a little put out. Mrs. Watson says that Mrs. McMillan never speaks affectionately of Caroline, but that it is not her nature to do so. The child seems happy, and everything seems to be going all right, but Mrs. McMillan lacked judgment in many things. Agent has felt that Mrs. McMillan would be ready to suspect Caroline of wrongdoing, but as she grows fonder of Caroline she will probably not be looking for her peculiarities as she did at first.

Letter.—Jan. 11. Mrs. McMillan wrote that she could not "take to" Caroline and asked to have her removed.

Removal.—Jan. 15. . . . Mrs. McMillan says that she has been disappointed in a good many ways. She magnifies every little thing and has been unable to get the child's point of view. She is selfish, and seems to have no warmth in her nature. She makes no allowances for children. She says that Caroline has been put back in school for writing notes to boys, that she has been untruthful and is extremely slow. When asked for details, she could tell of only one note. Caroline has told little untruths to save herself trouble. Mrs. McMillan says it is not worth while believing anything that she says now. She will waste time dressing herself and doing the dishes. She is fond of playing in the water, and shocked Mrs. McMillan by telling her that she was going to be a "wash lady" when she grew up. Mrs. McMillan said that they would not want to keep a child who would not amount to something. She is disappointed be-

cause the child still thinks about her own family, and when she is dreamy tells Mrs. McMillan that she is thinking about her brothers. When she first entered school Mrs. McMillan wanted her to call herself Caroline McMillan, and wrote it on her ruler, and she did not like it when Caroline changed the name to Turner. She expected Caroline to drop her own life the minute she arrived and to be her own child. Mrs. McMillan has been thoroughly unreasonable about everything. . . . Caroline has told Mrs. McMillan that she would not mind leaving if she did not have to go back to the institution. She did not show any regret at all, though she says that the McMillans have been kind to her. Caroline does not seem more than eight years old. She is not an interesting child to be with. She is a good-natured, obedient little girl, she does not seem affectionate. . . . Agent talked with her teacher, a very pleasant, intelligent young woman. She has not had any trouble with Caroline. She was in the A division of grade 2B and has done average work and is younger than most of the children in the room. Caroline is a nicer, better behaved girl than the others and always well dressed. The teacher was indignant to think that Mrs. McMillan made anything of the note incident. She told her that there was nothing to it. She thinks that Mrs. McMillan has been very unjust and has the impression that she is too critical. She believes that Mrs. McMillan thinks a good deal of the child. She says that the first day that Caroline came to school Mrs. McMillan asked her to let her know if she noticed the least thing to criticize in the child.

It may be asked why this home was used at all. It was, to be sure, something of an experimental placement. In its favor it may be said that there seemed no doubt that the family genuinely wanted a child and would do their best for her, according to their lights. The man seemed a very positive asset in the household. Two other children had been happy there. Materially speaking, the home was good in a simple way. Families who would take a child of Caroline's age were hard to find and Caroline's history, and what was known about two brothers of hers in the care of the Association, would not have led one to expect the excellent progress that she later made. Obviously, the crux of the situation lay in Mrs. McMillan's character. From experience with foster mothers not unlike her—shallow and self-centered—who had risen adequately to the demands made upon them by the care of a child, the Association felt that there was a good chance of Mrs. McMillan's rising to her part. Her subsequent poor judgment, one of the most serious failures, was not revealed until after the placement had been made—as is so often the case. In other words, it was felt that only a trial would show how she could get on with a child. It took less than the three months that the child was

there to demonstrate that Mrs. McMillan would never be a real foster mother. Her self-centered nature was incapable of the flexibility and generosity needed. Her lack of sympathy and patience, her insistence on unimportant matters, and her ignorance of important ones—and not least her asking the teacher to be on the lookout for things amiss in the child's behavior—are all symptoms of a temperament unfitted for the rôle of foster mother. However, Caroline was actually improved in many ways by her stay there; she lost her institutionalism, gained physically, and learned the rudiments of decent family life.

Re-examinations.—Following her removal Caroline was boarded for three weeks, during which she was given a second physical examination and found to be in good condition. She was given a mental examination also, which gave her an intelligence quotient of 90. She was coöperative, quick in her replies, and friendly and alert in her attitude.

Second Home.—The following is a summary of the second home in which Caroline was placed—that of Mr. and Mrs. George Post.

Mrs. Post is a handsome woman, about thirty-two years of age, tall and large, with a fine face and sweet manners. She is a woman of a good deal of character. She is a public school teacher. Mr. Post is a fine-looking young man, strong and healthy, with a splendid physique and a strong face. He speaks intelligently and uses very good English. He talks better than his wife. He seems a little inclined to question the amount of investigation, and said that he supposed that they would be just as particular in looking up the child whom they were to take. Mr. Post is employed by a very important banking firm, that of —— Co., and has a good position. Previous to this he was for eight years in the Government service. He started in his present firm at $75 a month and has had three raises since. He is now getting $125 and has just received a bonus of $20. He says that he has never been out of work, has always made good in every position, and that he is one of the youngest men taken into this important banking office. He considers it quite an honor, as the men there have all been connected with the firm for thirty or more years. He feels that they are giving him an opportunity for advancement and that he is well on the way to make good. Mr. Post was adopted as a young child and brought up on a southern plantation and had very little regular education. He preferred to start out entirely on his own responsibility rather than to accept money from his foster parents. Mrs. Post comes from ——, Ohio, went through grammar school and college, and has been connected with the Board of Education for five years. She intends to keep on teaching.

The Posts live on the top floor of a two-family house in a better class neighborhood. The rooms are furnished in good taste and there are large leather armchairs about. They have no pictures on the walls and very few books. Mr. Post is not very fond of reading, and they are both very busy people and do not

have much leisure. They have not very much furniture, but everything was well chosen and showed taste.

Mrs. Post said that it would make no difference to her if she had a child after she adopted one, which may be the case if the doctor's treatment is successful. They wish a little girl between five and eight. They do not want one younger as Mrs. Post has to be in school. The girl would, however, be under her care in school. Mr. Post is very fond of children, and is as anxious as his wife to get one. Mr. Post spoke again of having been brought up by a foster mother and father who were very fine people, and agent said that since he had been an adopted child, he must understand why it was so important to select a good home for a child. The Posts understand that they will have to wait a year before adopting a child, and they will be glad to have a visitor from the Association call at any time.

Six references were interviewed regarding Mr. and Mrs. Post and two very satisfactory letters concerning them were received. One was from their former pastor, who wrote, "For ten years I knew them most intimately—members of the church I served, active in Sunday School, of a fine Christian character, and possessing the qualities that make a home in every sense of the word." Of the six references seen, one was the family physician, who stated that Mrs. Post's difficulty in bearing a child was not due to venereal disease, but to an organic weakness. He recommended them highly. Another reference was the principal of Mrs. Post's school, and the other four were personal friends of long standing, all of whom spoke of the family in the highest terms. The investigator felt that their recommendations were somewhat general and lacking in discrimination, but found absolutely nothing derogatory in the course of her interviews with them. All the references said that Mrs. Post would be capable of training a child well and of giving her good and intelligent care. They agreed that Mr. Post was a reliable man of excellent character and that Mrs. Post was an intelligent, sweet-natured woman. Their home life was considered very happy.

Placement.—Feb. 7. Mr. and Mrs. Post saw Caroline at the office and decided almost instantly to take her at once. They were given the main facts about the child's history, but were not told of the father's jail sentences. They were also told of Caroline's first placement and the reasons for its failure.

The first word received from them some three weeks later was an enthusiastic letter, saying that Caroline is a "perfect dear, is adapting herself well, and that all the Post family are enjoying her to the fullest and had not dared to hope for such a delightful child."

All visits in this home were made by the same visitor.

Office Visit.—April 13. Mrs. Post said that her husband was absolutely satisfied with Caroline, and that she thought that she herself would soon feel the same way, but at present she was worried because the child seemed less bright than they hoped. However, she was doing well in the third grade in school, was practising her music faithfully, was "companionable, willing, and obedient."

Visit.—June 6. Caroline looks very sturdy and extremely happy. She is especially devoted to her father, and had her arms around him most of the time. She has a pretty room, very daintily arranged for her. Mrs. Post seems a fine woman, very sensible in her handling of the child. She and Mr. Post assured visitor that it had not been "all sunshine" bringing up Caroline; they had had great sympathy with the family who had had to give her up. Mrs. Post said that Caroline had had absolutely no training, and she would not have believed it

possible that any child could reach the age that Caroline had and still have to learn so much; Caroline was not at all adaptable, and every step forward had to be taken with the greatest difficulty. She thinks, however, that Caroline tries very hard, that she likes them, and has learned a good deal in four months. Mrs. Post said that the longer Caroline stayed with them the more they liked her. They feel that she has very fine qualities underneath, and has the makings of a fine woman. Caroline is still backward in school, but Mrs. Post knows just how to help her and hopes that without pushing her she can get her to skip two grades. Visitor called on Mrs. Stockel, one of the original references. She is devoted to Caroline and Caroline to her. She thinks that Caroline is extremely happy and is developing splendidly, and that Mr. and Mrs. Post have done everything for her. Mrs. Post has worked over her with the greatest possible patience and care.

Visit.—Oct. 4. The family had returned from their summer vacation. . . . Visitor met Caroline roller skating and hardly recognized her; she had improved so much. She was well dressed, her manners were good, and she welcomed visitor cordially. Mrs. Post was anxious for a long talk. They feel that Caroline is not developing as she should and that the time has come for them to return her. The child had learned very slowly, but they felt that she had tried hard and was improving steadily until last June. She passed her examinations with good marks. But during the summer she had slumped and had forgotten most of the lessons over which Mrs. Post worked so hard with her. Her teacher, according to Mrs. Post, is also dissatisfied. She says that Caroline is inattentive, makes no effort, and has no memory. Mrs. Post thinks that this lack of memory is hopeless and that there is something wrong with the child's mentality. Caroline forgets the simplest things. Every morning she has to say, "Caroline, have you washed your face? Have you brushed your teeth?" Last year she had Caroline's duties reduced to a system, with a list pinned up on the wall. Now, however, she has completely forgotten it and has found the adjustment on coming home from vacation almost as hard as when she first came to them. She has no idea of how to play, either alone or with other children. . . . Mrs. Post says that she apparently has no sex knowledge, but feels that she already has a highly developed sex consciousness.

Mrs. Post's remarks were not all complaints: she is evidently truly devoted to Caroline and considers her a charming child in many ways. She is attractive, has sweet manners, and a delightful sense of humor. However, she feels strongly that she is not the type who will develop satisfactorily in their home. Mr. Post came in and talked at great length. He is evidently quite devoted to Caroline, and visitor felt that it was going to be a wrench for him to have her taken away. Yet he said that he had made up his mind that he would not let his heart rule his head and that he was convinced that Caroline had not the capacity for developing which he felt he must have in any child whom they adopt. He said that matters would only grow worse as the child grew older. He made it clear that he was willing and glad to keep Caroline as long as was necessary for the Association to find a satisfactory home for her. Visitor suggested that Caroline be brought for a mental test and they agreed readily.

Visitor felt that the discipline was pretty strict and that Mr. and Mrs. Post expect a great deal. Mrs. Post has worked a great deal in school with difficult children, and says that she has accomplished wonders with them. She seems to have excellent theories about how to train and develop backward children. She

is, however, very different from Caroline temperamentally, and seems to expect an old head to grow suddenly on the child's shoulders. Certainly both Mr. and Mrs. Post have become quite out of patience with Caroline. Mrs. Post said that she had never heard her husband speak angrily at home until the last few months, when it seemed as if he had continually to correct Caroline. Mrs. Post was tired out in the spring and had a hard summer and no time to rest her nerves, and perhaps this has had something to do with her finding Caroline so difficult. Visitor feels that if the mental test is satisfactory there is just a possibility that it may make a difference in their attitude.

Office Visit.—Oct. 19. Mrs. Post brought Caroline in for a mental examination. Both she and Mr. Post are much discouraged. Caroline is a very lovable child, and it is going to be hard to give her up, for she has endeared herself to them both. Mrs. Post said that they have tried every possible means to make her realize the necessity of doing certain routine things. . . . The teacher has the same trouble and is constantly saying "Caroline Post, elbows off the desk." Mr. Post is very much discouraged, and said only that morning that the sooner she left them the better. Mrs. Post feels that she might fit into a family where the people were not interested in mental development and where she would be brought up more or less carelessly. Mrs. Post said that Mr. Post has met so many successful women in his banking office that it is quite a disappointment to him that he cannot make Caroline become a clever woman too. Every time that Mrs. Post spoke of returning Caroline the tears came into her eyes, and it is undoubtedly true that she will hate to give up the child. She is very anxious to know the result of the mental test, although she feels that they cannot possibly keep Caroline. At present the child is very clean minded and seems absolutely unconscious of sex knowledge, but Mrs. Post feels she will soon have to tell her as she thinks that she will mature early.

The report of Caroline's mental test was: Age, ten years eleven months; mental age, eleven years four months; intelligence quotient, 103.81. Response to the tests showed in every particular a definite reaction to the developmental and cultural environment in which she has lived for the last eight months. General comprehension is excellent. . . . This child shows definitely capabilities for social and intellectual development to a degree considerably above the average.

The examiner also talked with Mrs. Post. Her opinion was that the difficulty was twofold; a tendency on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Post to theorize about the child and to be on the lookout for symptoms of retardation or abnormality, and a lack of practical experience with children which resulted in their considering perfectly normal naughtiness or forgetfulness as abnormal. Little incidents which the foster mother reported as indicative of abnormality in Caroline were such as any mother expects and meets with in her own children. The examiner thought that it would be highly improbable that any child could be given to this family who would be equally capable of assimilation of their environment or equally promising as regards mental environment. On the part of the child it must be said that it would probably be difficult to find a home where the influences under which she developed so amazingly could be continued; but, on the other hand, if the foster parents are not satisfied and if they cannot discontinue their habit of anticipating trouble and applying theories, it would be better for the child to be taken at once rather than at a later time, when the affection which she now feels would have even deeper roots.

Office Visit.—Nov. 6. Mr. Post, at the request of the office, called to talk matters over, and was interviewed by the supervisor of case work, who was familiar with the case, and by the psychologist with whom he wished to discuss the mental examination. He opened the conversation by saying that we people were entirely mistaken if we thought that he meant to give up Caroline soon. He said that he had always made a success in life of everything that he had undertaken, and that it would be mortifying to him to fail in anything that he undertook. He was quite on his mettle and will make every effort to keep Caroline provided that she comes up to their standard. Mr. Post seemed very fair and really anxious to know where the fault lies, and what reason there may be for Caroline's making such rapid strides the first five months she was with them and then absolutely slumping. . . . She formerly got up at seven in the morning and got ready for breakfast and practised twenty minutes before school. Now she gets up at half-past six, and with constant nagging from the family manages barely to get to school on time, with no practising. She seems to like them, and when he explains to her her faults she says, "Yes, daddy," and promises to correct them, but immediately does the same thing over again. For instance, he will explain to her a word she has misspelled and watch over her shoulder while she does it and she will make the same mistake a second time. He says the child is very responsive and affectionate, and they are very fond of her. He does not doubt that she gets tired of the nagging, but she will do nothing unless they keep after her constantly. . . . He admits that they have nagged too much. Agent suggested that it was possibly the adolescent stage beginning to affect the child, . . . combined with the fact that she feels quite sure of staying there and has let herself down from the overexertion of the first months. Mr. Post is the type of man who seems to have no patience with any one who can't jump at things as he does. He is to a certain extent sympathetic, but fails to understand that a child may be perfectly normal and yet fail to measure up to his requirements. It was arranged that a visitor would talk with Caroline and see if it was possible for the child to rise to the standards that she had previously had.

To the examiner Mr. Post made the following statements; first, he said conclusively that he had no intention at any time of giving up the child and that it was Mrs. Post who, because of her nervous condition, wished to do so. (This was in direct contradiction to the statement of Mrs. Post ten days previous . . . that Caroline was being kept in their home only through her intercession, as Mr. Post was "totally disgusted" with her. She had further said that Caroline was upsetting Mr. Post, that he was constantly disturbed by her, and in a bad humor most of the time.) Mr. Post spoke at length concerning Mrs. Post, and said that he realized that she had never had the experience of living with normal children and that she was prone to theorizing. According to his story, the dissatisfaction rested entirely with Mrs. Post, and affected him only in so far as he had to confess that he was failing in something. He seemed quite convinced that the child was not normal, but the trivial little incidents which he brought out as proof were such things as might have happened in any ordinary family. . . . Examiner feels strongly that they expect entirely too much of the child. . . . They should be made to realize that she is just a young child and the responsibility should rest with them and not with her. . . . The constant nagging which they confess and the constant evidence which they give the child that she is not pleasing them would be enough to dishearten anybody. It is extremely

unlikely that any child could be found who at this early age could measure up to the standard of success which Mr. Post is so proud of having attained and which he demands in all those associated with him.

Visit.—Nov. 29. The regular visitor took Caroline out a week later for an afternoon. . . . Caroline seems to be happy and thoroughly devoted to both her father and mother. She does not seem to feel that . . . too much is expected of her, but admits that she is terribly forgetful and has to be reproved continually. She is a decidedly attractive little girl, and chats on very pleasantly, though she probably has no great depth of nature. She promised that she would try very hard.

Visit.—Dec. 12. Mrs. Post said again and again in the child's presence that she was in the wrong home and should be taken away. She gave the visitor to understand that Mr. Post had made up his mind to part with Caroline. Mr. Post came in and said at once that he had decided to give Caroline another chance. Mrs. Post admitted that she had not been well for some time, and that she had probably been hard on the child. Visitor feels that neither of these people is at all generous in judging the child, but Caroline seems happy and there is nothing to do but to see how the present trial works out.

Visit.—Feb. 1. When the visitor next called Mrs. Post said that she did not believe that they had expected too much of Caroline. . . . Caroline takes too much for granted. She expects to be treated as their equal. This is perhaps their fault because when she first came they took her everywhere with them. Her manners in company charmed the older people whom she met. Mrs. Post feels that when Caroline is older she will invariably be the center of the crowd; this is not so now because the children of her own age cordially dislike her. Mrs. Post says that Caroline is a born servant, because she loves to scrub. She thinks that Caroline is very silly about boys, and thinks that they are always looking at her. . . . She feels that the child is over-emotional. She feels that her emotions will develop at the expense of her intellect, and she does not feel that she can take the responsibility of guiding her through the difficult three or four years to come. Mrs. Post, who was brought up in a very prim fashion, cannot understand the demonstrative side of the child's nature. She said that she had never believed that such a thing as a "soul kiss" existed until she saw Caroline kiss Mr. Post. Their marriage had been a friendly one, and neither she nor Mr. Post could understand Caroline's show of affection. Caroline's behavior has got on Mrs. Post's nerves so that she is almost a wreck. She expects to undergo an operation in two months and she cannot have anything disturbing her meanwhile.

Removal.—Feb. 8. Caroline was removed and taken directly to her new home. She had been with the Posts a year and a day. Mrs. Post said that she was sorry for the people who had to tell Caroline that she was not coming back to the Posts. She even said that they might be willing to take her back permanently later on because she felt that a separation from them might cure her of the faults of which they disapproved. She said good-by to the child very affectionately.

This second placement shows some of the same elements of failure as the first, but involves infinitely more complex problems. It was felt, after Caroline had responded so well to even the limited advan-

tages of the McMillan home and had shown improvement in her second over her first mental examination, that she was the type of child who could develop considerably in a higher grade home, and consequently the home selected was one in which she would have distinct advantages in education and some social advantages also.

One element of failure in the Post home, as in the McMillan, lay in the temperament of the foster mother. Added to this was the very exacting temperament of the foster father. The foster parents' relationship to each other probably had nearly as much to do with the failure of the placement as did the child's difficulties. It must be frankly admitted at the outset of this discussion that the original investigation of this family was inadequate because it did not penetrate the temperament and complications involved. Nothing of the subsequent difficulties with Mrs. Post was foreshadowed, except that of possible ill health, and there was a hint merely of Mr. Post's, in his objection to being "investigated"—which in passing we may remark is usually a danger signal—and possibly in his somewhat egotistical account of himself. The advantages of the home were manifest and were emphasized by references. It is, however, only fair to say that the kind of complications which subsequently arose were the kind which it is next to impossible to discover by any means but the actual experiment of placing the child there.

In this situation—the Post family and Caroline—we have to reckon not only with the child's adjustment to them and theirs to her, but with the effect of this adjustment upon the relations between Mr. and Mrs. Post. This is true, as we have said before, of all placements, but it is not always so obvious as in this instance. Beyond a doubt there was in Mrs. Post's dissatisfaction with Caroline more than disappointment at the child's failure to develop as she had hoped; there is distinctly an element of jealousy over the child's fondness for Mr. Post. The jealousy of a grown woman over the affection of a child of ten will seem improbable only to those unfamiliar with the intimate adjustments involved in this work. Mrs. Post's remark to the visitor about "the soul kiss"—her own phrase—is highly significant. Her remarks that Caroline would be the center of a crowd as she grew

older, coupled with her suggestion that Caroline is a born servant because she loves to scrub, are certainly not made in the spirit of fair-minded criticism, but are actuated by the desire to disparage the child.

The development of Mr. Post in the character of a foster father is highly suggestive. For one thing, he took more active a part than foster fathers usually do in the experiment; he did more and he said much, much more. His behavior and its effect upon his wife's attitude were possibly the determinants of the situation. An aggressive man, none too sure of himself and his position, probably, under a veneer of assurance, wanting results quickly—as if he were putting through a business deal instead of handling one of the most delicate and intimate of human relationships—he displays few of the primary requisites of a father. His letters and his speeches are full of significant hints of the characteristics that made the placement fail. "I am satisfied," he wrote, "that the young lady concerned is not all we hoped for," as if her failure to come up to standard were a gratification to him. Mr. Post was disappointed because Caroline at ten—just out of an institution, and before that in the most degraded home imaginable, as he knew—was not developing into one of those clever women in his business office. "He has no patience with people who cannot jump at things as he does." But most significant of all are his reasons for wishing to give Caroline a longer trial. "He said that he had always made a success of everything that he undertook, and it would be mortifying to him to fail in anything." Mrs. Post's dissatisfaction "affected him only in so far as he had to confess that he was failing in something." In these statements we have the key to the reasons why Mr. Post failed as a foster father. It has become with him not a question of whether Caroline is happy, whether his way of dealing with her faults is the best, whether indeed those faults would exist if he did not deal with them by means of constant nagging, but of how this experiment was affecting him and his reputation.

The problem of Caroline's deterioration in this home is not so easily answered. No doubt it was due in part to the approach of adolescence, in part to that slackening of effort which so often occurs when a child

has come to feel fairly sure of her position in the family, and certainly it was due also to the methods of training used by the Posts. Reiteration and nagging, "keeping at" a child, inevitably have a dulling rather than a stimulating effect. Moreover, Caroline doubtless felt instinctively the impossible nature, for her, of the Posts' standards, and was too discouraged to make the effort demanded by them.

The third family in which Caroline was placed was described as follows (visits to references omitted):

Third Home.—Mr. Andrews is an American and a Presbyterian. He is a tall, rather well built man, with gray hair which has receded quite a bit from his forehead. His eyes are a pale blue and his face is quite florid. He wears a small mustache. He is a man who is very economical and his only extravagance seems to be a victrola. Several years ago he used to smoke, but he felt that it was like burning money, so has given up this habit. He has had only a public school education. He seems a very intelligent sort of a man.

Mrs. Andrews is also American and a Protestant and is of German descent. She is a short, stout, motherly appearing woman, has dark eyes, dark hair, and wears glasses. She was dressed in a neat cotton house dress. She speaks with great affection of her father and mother. She always lived at home, never having worked out before her marriage. She had a public school education. She seems to be a very motherly type of woman, though rather sentimental in her attitude and probably would be over-indulgent with a child. She is not as intelligent in her conversation as her husband. She appears to be very strong and well.

The Andrews home is a two-story, two-family brick house in a respectable neighborhood. It is a neighborhood of the lower middle class. The houses and little yards are all neat and well cared for. There were many children playing and rushing about in a very boisterous manner. These children were all fairly well dressed, but gave the impression of being somewhat undisciplined. The public school and Presbyterian Church are within a few blocks from the house. The upper floor the Andrews rent to a young married couple with two small children. Their own apartment consists of five rooms and bath. The front room is light and airy, but the dining-room and the bedroom where the child would sleep were inside rooms, and were not very light. However, they seemed fairly airy. Everything about the apartment was in good order and very clean. The furnishings were somewhat nondescript, being neither particularly good nor particularly bad taste. The rooms seemed very homelike and comfortable.

Mr. Andrews is now working for the Government. He has been making quite a bit of overtime during the war, but this has now ended. He makes $33 a week and they get $23 a month for the rent of their upstairs rooms. Mr. Andrews has no insurance of any kind. He has two or three Liberty Bonds and a bank account, and belongs to the Trade Union League, which in case of illness would pay a small benefit.

The Andrews want to take a little girl between five and eight years old. They are not particular about her history. Mr. Andrews spoke in a very sensible way

upon this subject. However, they would like to know the history of the child whom they do take. They are willing to give the child a fair trial, but would, of course, not wish to keep a child who did not appeal to them. Agent feels that a little girl about five years old, affectionate, not unattractive, but not necessarily a particularly intelligent child, would fit into this home. Mr. and Mrs. Andrews would require an affectionate type of little girl as they would probably be demonstrative with her.

Preparation for Placement.—Before Caroline was placed in the Andrews home, the visitor—a different visitor, who made all the following visits—took her there to call and to spend the afternoon. . . . Mr. Andrews came to the door and seemed very glad to see Caroline. Caroline was behaving her best, and was very sweet and shy. She shook hands very prettily with Mrs. Andrews, who greeted her affectionately. Mrs. Andrews is very kind and motherly. Mr. Andrews helped Caroline take off her hat and coat, and then took her into the adjoining room to see his canaries. Mrs. Andrews said immediately that no one could help liking the little thing, that she was attracted to Caroline the second she saw her. She could not understand how the other family (the Posts) could give her up. She thought that it showed a great deal of selfishness. During this conversation Mr. Andrews and Caroline were having a wonderful time with the canaries. Caroline was delighted with them. She walked about the room admiring various things, and this, of course, pleased Mr. Andrews. He was very gentle and kind and is the sort of a man who would be very good to a child. He has a victrola and a collection of records of which he is very proud. He played a great many for Caroline, and she sang in a high clear voice. Mr. Andrews' eyes never left her for an instant. When she went back to Mrs. Andrews Mrs. Andrews asked her if she would like to stay. Caroline said that she thought she should go home first, but that she would like to come again. The Andrews are plain people, who would not expect too much of her, but who will give her a great deal of affection and who probably will admire her childish ways. The only thing to guard against is that they might be over-indulgent.

Placement.—Feb. 8, '19.

Visit.—May 3, '19. Caroline was placed in the Andrews home. Agent had an opportunity to talk with Caroline a long time alone. She never mentioned the Posts. She spoke of Mr. and Mrs. Andrews as "daddy" and "mother," and is apparently perfectly at home with them. She has made some good friends at school and on the block. Agent does not feel that the Andrews expect as much of her as the Posts did. They are apparently satisfied that she is developing normally. Mrs. Andrews was more than cordial. She said that Caroline is a good little girl ordinarily, but she sometimes gets stubborn streaks. She is having fractions in school now, and Mr. Andrews helps her in the evening. She does not like this work and is often rather sulky about it. Her school report last term was very good. Mrs. Andrews said that she did not know how she got along before Caroline came to her.

Visit.—June 24, '19. Mrs. Andrews called. She is anxious to take out adoption papers as early as possible. She says that at first Caroline was quite obstinate, that she refused help from Mr. Andrews in the evening with her school work, and that she had crying spells. During one of these she told Mrs Andrews that Mrs. Post had told her that her own mother was a drunkard. Mrs. Andrews

said that this had apparently been in the child's mind for some time and that she became quite hysterical about it. This touched Mrs. Andrews' heart, and she feels quite bitterly toward Mrs. Post for telling the child such a thing. She denied the story up and down and told Caroline that she was never to think of it again. Another time, when a drunken man passed her house, Caroline said she remembered seeing her father in that condition. Mrs. Andrews would prefer that Caroline would not talk about these things and that she would forget them. At the same time she realizes that it may do the child good to feel free to talk, and for this reason she does not stop her doing so. Caroline still shows a little obstinancy, and Mrs. Andrews feels that perhaps this is a good trait, as it may keep her from temptation later on. Mrs. Andrews is a very motherly, warm-hearted woman.

Visit.—Aug. 12, '19. The Andrews are immensely pleased with Caroline, and think she improves every day. They cannot understand why the Posts gave her up, because they think that the only faults she has are the natural faults of a child. They say that she is absolutely truthful, clean-minded, and very sweet tempered, and that on these few things they can build anything. She is apparently very happy with them and they are proud of her. She is a little slow at times and stubborn, but they feel that she will outgrow this. Caroline is developing very fast, looked perfectly well, and is apparently happy. Mrs. Andrews thinks she will mature soon. She is going to tell Caroline all about it because she thinks it wrong for young girls to be ignorant.

Note.—Oct. 6, '19. Mrs. Andrews called and brought a good school report.

Visit.—Jan. 2, '20. Caroline is doing very well indeed, and Mrs. Andrews said that both she and her husband loved her as if she were their very own. Mrs. Andrews could not say enough in praise of her. Caroline has faults, of course, but they are only natural ones, and she is not difficult to discipline. She takes correction very sweetly, and is conscientiously trying to be a good girl. She is a very friendly child, and the neighbors like her. She is getting on very well in school and always brings home a good report. Caroline spoke a piece for agent, and accompanied it with little gestures which Mrs. Andrews said were original. She seemed very proud of Caroline's ability. Caroline is growing rapidly, has a good color, and apparently is in the best of health. She is adjusting admirably to this home. Agent does not think that Mr. and Mrs. Andrews are at all sentimental. They are just natural, simple, unassuming people, who love Caroline whole heartedly and are not ashamed to show it.

Adoption Visit.—Apr. 17, '20. Caroline was at home alone when agent arrived. She was very agreeable and quite entertaining. Her remarks were spontaneous, and she is undoubtedly perfectly happy. She is in 5-B grade, and told agent how much she liked her school. She says that all the children there are nice and she has ever so many friends. She likes the Sunday school too, and has given a number of recitations at their various entertainments. Caroline told agent all about the new victrola records and how they are playing two each evening until they go over all of them. She goes to the store with Mr. Andrews the first of every month to make his new selections, and apparently they enjoy these pilgrimages very much indeed. Caroline says that she loves it here and wants to belong to Mr. and Mrs. Andrews completely.

Mrs. Andrews came in and was as sweet and cordial as ever. She sent Caroline to do some dusting while she and agent had a talk. She said that Caroline is

pretty good about helping, but is very slow. However, Mrs. Andrews feels decidedly that she should have some training and so insists upon her doing something every Saturday morning. The people in the neighborhood have accepted her very naturally and kindly. The Andrews told them that she is a child of a friend of theirs and no questions have been asked. Mrs. Andrews said that they could never give her up, as they love her so much. She said that she often goes in and looks at Caroline when she is asleep and wonders where her mother is and what she is thinking. Caroline never talks about her past any more, and they are hoping that it will gradually fade from her mind. Agent noticed that Caroline was singing as she worked, and Mrs. Andrews said that she was always like that. She is sweet-tempered, generous and lovable. Agent asked Mrs. Andrews what Caroline's attitude toward boys was. Agent particularly wanted to know, in view of what Mrs. Post had said about this. Mrs. Andrews said that naturally Caroline likes some of the boys. There are two or three of them nearby with whom she and the other little girls play. They want her to do this and think it would be a mistake for her not to. They often race home from school together at noon, and everything is natural and unaffected. Mrs. Andrews had told Caroline to come to her at any time that any one does or says anything that she does not understand and feels that she has Caroline's confidence.

Agent has always been very favorably impressed with conditions in this home, and thinks that Caroline could not be anywhere where she could be more happily adjusted. Mrs. Andrews is as sweet and motherly as she can be, and her happiness in having a little girl is really touching.

In the course of the adoption visit Mr. Andrews was also interviewed, and a reference consulted who highly recommended adoption. Adoption was approved following this visit.

The reason why Caroline was a success in this home, after proving a failure in two others, is undoubtedly to be found not in any change in the girl herself, but in the wholly different attitude of her foster parents. In some ways the Andrews home might seem somewhat of a come-down after the Post home; yet in spite of its obvious social and educational inferiorities it was deliberately chosen as more suitable. Doubtless Caroline will have fewer advantages socially and less mental stimulus in this simple home; but the Andrews possess the one essential quality, which neither the McMillans nor the Posts had—that of genuine humanity. Their whole-hearted warmth in making her at once a real part of their lives, their tolerance and understanding, are the key to their success. They realize that she is "a little slow," but her faults are "the natural faults of any child"; she sulks over fractions, but that merely amuses them and they are satisfied with her good school reports; they are proud of her, and "not ashamed to show their affection for her." Nothing could differ more sharply from

the restless, censorious attitude of the Posts. "Natural, simple, unassuming people," with common sense and an instinct for human relationships can be counted on to make a success where dozens of more educated and intelligent people may make failures. One reason for their success lies probably in their very natural, simple point of view. Mr. and Mrs. Andrews wanted a child because they loved children and had lost a daughter of their own. When the child came to them she was accepted without question, and became at once their own child. As far as they were concerned, the matter was settled. One cannot help feeling about the Posts, on the other hand, that selfishness was a large ingredient in their attitude. They wanted a child whose brilliance would shed light on their own reputation; they wanted a child "to be a credit to them," not a child to love nor a child to make happy. Mr. Post was troubled with a restless ambition which made it impossible for him to be simple and natural in this relationship. Mr. Andrews, on the contrary, was comfortably settled in his particular niche and not worried about the effect of Caroline's development on his reputation. The Andrews expected "natural faults" in a child, the Posts did not; Mrs. Post theorized about "the backward child" and worried about Caroline's intelligence; Mrs. Andrews and her husband "loved her as if she were their very own."

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

As has been said in the preface to this monograph, free foster home provision is advisable for only a small proportion of the State's dependent children. It has been necessary to work out other methods of caring for the majority of dependent children. The plan of boarding such children in family homes is one of the most important of these methods. Part II of this monograph, based on the work of the Boston Children's Aid Society, will discuss the placement and supervision of children in boarding homes.

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